

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XX

OCTOBER, 1888

No. 4

THE CITY OF A PRINCE *

A ROMANTIC CHAPTER IN TEXAS HISTORY

I

AT what period German immigration to the state of Texas commenced, it is difficult to determine. Some few German settlers had already established themselves there while the country was under the dominion of Spain; they came in greater numbers with the Americans who formed the "Austin Colony," locating between the Brazos and the Colorado. In the Texas War of Independence they bore their share, and a German—Ehrenberg—was one of the few survivors of Fannin's massacre at Goliad in 1836. After peace was declared those who were in the army went up into the interior of the state and made homes for themselves; they were joined by others who came from northern states, but it was not until 1840 that an exclusively German town was founded. This was called "Industry"—a name well merited by the character of its people. Later on other families settled along the Brazos and Colorado, spreading themselves from Austin to Houston; so that at the present day that section is called "Little Germany," in contradistinction to "Great Germany," which lies between the Colorado and the Rio Grande, and which afterwards received the bulk of the German immigration. Our concern is principally with this part of the state; for important political movements grew out of the large influx of foreigners, and these seemingly insignificant settlements were great factors in the sum of events which led to the annexation of Texas.

Most of the section of country lying west of the Colorado was in 1840 a savage wilderness. With sufficient area to form several kingdoms, its total population was but twelve thousand. Of these the town of San Antonio contained five thousand, four-fifths of whom were Mexicans. The rest of the population was scattered through several small villages and about their immediate vicinity. The country was an earthly paradise as

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far as soil, scenery and climate were concerned; but the Indians were in full possession and there had been much trouble between them and the whites, though at the time German immigration commenced, the strength of the Comanches had been broken and they had been driven back to the unexplored fastnesses of the mountains.

The first Germans who crossed the Colorado were Alsations, and can be considered the pioneers of the great movement which afterwards took place. They called themselves French, but they spoke the German tongue and had German physicians, teachers and pastors. They were, however, under the leadership of a Frenchman, the Count de Castro, who tried to procure emigrants in France to settle on his extensive land grants, but being unsuccessful, took out large numbers of German Alsations and set sail from Antwerp. This colony reached Galveston Island only to find themselves totally unprovided for. Galveston, containing then but a few hundred people, could do nothing for them, and they sought the mainland where many of them scattered through the different settlements; others held together and pushed on for the land of De Castro's grant. They found it a lovely, fertile domain. Here they established themselves, worked hard and flourished; later, they were joined by other Germans from the Society of Mayence. As their numbers increased they founded small villages; Guihi, Vanaenburg and New Fountain were laid out; then they organized their county, making Castroville, their first town, the county seat, and so by degrees settled up the entire country between the Nueces and the San Antonio.

Just about this time a society of princes and noblemen was being formed in Germany, the cause of whose organization can hardly be credited to pure philanthropy. It is not reasonable to suppose that the German potentates were so disinterested as to seek in other countries free holdings of lands and homes for their poor subjects. There are proofs extant that England took a considerable part in the movement; in fact it was due to her machinations that the society was organized. At this time the growing power of the United States was viewed with alarm by Great Britain. The enormous increase in the American cotton crop had already displaced East India cotton in European markets, and the home government had to devise some expedient to encourage the production of the staple in her own colonies. To do this, she endeavored to put a stop to the slave trade, promulgated abolition ideas, and determined to establish an anti-slavery republic on Texas soil, believing that without slave labor cotton could not be profitably produced in America. At that time Texas was an independent republic of enormous area and almost undetermined

boundaries. Sparsely settled, embarrassed financially, and constantly threatened by Mexico, it was but natural to suppose that she would ere long either fall a prey to the growing power of the United States, or seek safety, and more favorable terms, by annexation. To prevent any such contingency was clearly the policy of England.

The method that seemed best adapted to preserve the autonomy of Texas, was the eradication of slavery within its borders. To do this enormous numbers of immigrants opposed to its principles were to be introduced, so that the majority of the



population should be in favor of a "free" republic. It was the belief in England that the slave states of the Union would never permit the annexation of Texas as a free state; in which case this anti-slavery republic would act as a breakwater to the encroachments of the



SCENES ON THE COMAL RIVER, TEXAS.

United States and prevent their acquisition of more territory at the south.

The over-populated provinces of the German princes were selected as the best field from which to draw the vast numbers needed to make this plan a success. These princes were comparatively poor, and therefore more open to negotiation than other potentates. It was believed that under the leadership and protection of their own rulers, a sufficient number of emigrants could be poured into Texas to completely Germanize that new

republic, and when this was completed, England was to take it under especial protection. All of which is plainly shown by the letters of Prince Solms to officers of the society, and to the secretary of state under President Houston, threatening a European war in case of annexation. That this plan completely failed is due to the astuteness of the Texan leaders of the period.

To give a brief account of it, the young republic being at that time much embarrassed for means, decided, if possible, to raise \$4,000,000 from European governments, the security for the loan to be mortgages on the public lands. When Ashbel Smith, minister from Texas at the Court of St. James, broached the subject, he found himself listened to attentively, but put off from day to day for an answer; for England was then busy with her German colonization scheme, and considered that a much surer and safer way to assist Texas, than by lending her money. At the same time Hamilton had opened similar negotiations at the Court of France, and with every chance of success; but just as everything seemed propitious for securing the \$2,000,000 asked for, information reached the French Government of the coalition between England and the German princes. This immediately put a stop to the proceedings, as France considered it would injure the value, to her, of the public lands in Texas if any such condition of things obtained. In 1842 Hamilton wrote the matter home to his President, but Ashbel Smith had already written of this English-German alliance, their letters being now in the archives at Austin. At this juncture the genius of Sam Houston saved Texas to the Americans and outwitted the diplomacy of the Europeans. He renewed the proposition of the annexation of Texas to the United States. This move has often been ascribed to his personal ambition causing him to lose sight of the eventual greatness Texas would attain if she maintained her independence, and so fostered and hastened the development of her enormous natural resources. It has been said that he aimed at the chief magistracy of the two united countries; but the inner history of the English-German alliance proves that only by this astute move on Houston's part could their plans have been defeated. Texas was helpless; burdened with \$4,000,000 war debt, sparsely populated, the treasury empty, and constantly menaced by Mexico. If, in addition to this, England was allowed to carry out her scheme, the few thousands of Americans in Texas would find their independence as a nation a position almost impossible to maintain. Hence Houston's persistence in favor of annexation. This fact does not seem to appear in the written history of the country, but it is certain that it played a considerable part in the question of the

union of the two republics—as is fully shown in Houston's letter to Van Zandt, then minister at Washington from Texas, in which he rehearses the situation in reference to the coalition, and instructs his minister to urge upon the President the pressing need of annexation as the only means by which England could be foiled in her plans. In December, 1845, Texas was admitted to the Union, and Great Britain found to her cost that it was a short-sighted policy when she sent German emigrants instead of money to the new republic. She had been completely outwitted by General Houston, becoming in his hands an instrument with which to force annexation. The German princes and noblemen had been thus summarily cut off from a nice little revenue which they would have derived from England as the price paid them for inducing their subjects and countrymen to emigrate.

The history of German emigration to Texas, is one of peculiar interest, and yet, strange to say, it is almost unchronicled. The histories already written of the state simply mention it, inquiring not into its cause nor giving an account of the sufferings and trials attending the establishment of its settlements. Some German manuscripts exist which give a clear insight to their private history, but these are almost unattainable. It only remains, then, to gather from the few eye-witnesses yet living the information desired, drawing from the participants in those scenes such recollections of personal experience and reminiscences of others, as will serve to give a fair idea of the romantic record belonging to these colonies in general and to New Braunfels in particular; a record of endeavor, disaster and final success; the history of a colony which was the offspring of political intrigue, yet was founded on a basis of pretended philanthropy and in a way that appealed directly to the ambition of the many; a colony established not fifty years ago upon American soil, but under the patronage of nobility and the leadership of a prince.

In 1842 the negotiations between England and Germany had assumed definite shape; it was next in order for the German princes to carry out their share of the bargain. About this time the estates of these potentates were suffering from over-population. Much distress existed among the poorer classes, discontent was brewing in all quarters, and every indication pointed to the revolution which came in 1848. The whole situation revealed England's wisdom in choosing these people as her tools, and, as a first step towards the accomplishment of her designs, there was formed in 1843, in Mayence, a society called by the name of that city. It was comprised of twenty-five members, all princes and noblemen. Prince Frederick of Prussia stood at its head, but Count Castell was the soul of the

undertaking, while the Duke of Nassau was considered the protector of the society.

To but a few of its members was the real object of the society divulged. Only the leaders knew of the interest England had in its success, and to them was to be paid the price agreed upon for each emigrant sent over. The nobility generally were drawn into it by being assured that the idea was to establish large bodies of German settlers upon Texas soil, who would ultimately declare their independence of the republic and take rank as a principality under the government of one of their own princes. This would open a wide field to their ambition, and would serve too as a good provision for their younger sons, besides presenting a safe investment for their means and a refuge, perhaps, for themselves and property in case of a revolution in the mother country. All this was imparted by the leaders to the nobility as a secret among themselves, but to the mass of the people and to the world in general its philanthropic aspect was presented, and this was sufficiently praiseworthy to enlist the respect and attention of all. It purported to be the improvement of the lot of the poorer classes by establishing them in homes of their own in America, and supporting them until able to do for themselves; thus to lessen pauperism on their own estates and establish commercial relations between Texas and Germany, which would add materially to the prosperity of both countries. If this pretended view of the movement had been the real motive actuating the subsequent emigration, and the plans of support and encouragement had been carried out according to the original announcement, the Mayence Society would have gone down in history as a benefactor of two nations, instead of receiving scant chronicle as a miserable failure as a political factor, and a fraud practiced upon the defenseless common people of its own land.

Having gathered sufficient means together for its purposes, the society deputed Count Lieningen and Count Boos-Waldeck to act as its agents and travel through Texas and report. This they did and were well pleased with it, especially all that part between the Brazos and the Guadalupe. Here, in Fayette County, they bought a large plantation with negroes, and named it "Plantation Nassau." This place afterwards played an important role in the history of the society in Texas. But little more than forty years have elapsed since its first purchase, yet the information regarding it is meagre in the extreme and its story is hard to unravel. It is certain, however, that it became the headquarters of the officers of the society in Texas. Here they retired for rest and enjoyment, maintaining great style and keeping up much of pomp and ceremony. Its record is

one of romance; it has been both pleasure place and fortress, the scene and subject of strife at arms and in the forum, being for twenty-five years in ceaseless litigation for debt, possession, and murder.

Boos-Waldeck remained in Texas a year, then returned to Germany without having acquired any land for the proposed immigration; but when laying his report before the society he proposed to them a plan which he believed would be feasible and also profitable. His proposition plainly showed that he was not in the secret of the true object of this movement: it was to continue to buy farms and plantations in Texas; to employ the



CARL FRIEDRICH, PRINCE OF SOLMS-BRAUNFELS.

immigrants at good wages as laborers upon the small farms, but to have the large plantations worked exclusively by slaves. This project being directly opposed to the real design of the society, was promptly rejected; whereupon the count resigned from its membership and severed all connection with its affairs.

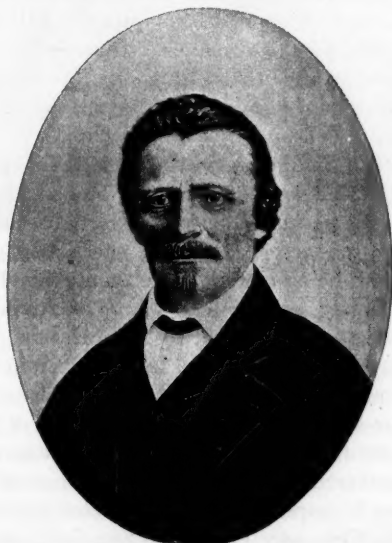
During the year of Waldeck's absence in Texas, a great commotion had been made in Germany over the proposed emigration. Pamphlets were issued setting forth the great desirability of Texas as a home, describing its rich lands, its temperate climate, its valleys, forests, and limpid streams. Proclamations were promulgated throughout the German

states, setting forth the advantages to be gained and the favors to be shown the emigrants. It was announced to them that upon their leaving Germany a portion of good land would be secured by written deeds and agreement to each emigrant. The amount called for by this he would receive from the secretary of the society upon his arrival in Texas at his point of destination; this to be a donation, without any present or future consideration being required from the immigrant. The area of the land given was to be in proportion to the size of the family, and would become their free and unrestricted possession as soon as they had resided upon it for three years. During that period the products of the soil would belong solely to the family, "the society demanding only a last claim to land or products." The proclamation continues: "At landing places the emigrants will find wagons ready to take them and their movables *gratis* to the place of their settlement; also all the necessities of the journey will be provided. As soon as they arrive at their place of destination block-houses will be erected for every one, and store-houses for provisions. Tools for gardening and farm-work, seeds and plants of every description will be on hand; they will find also the necessary domestic animals, as plow-oxen, horses, cows, pigs and sheep. All these will be sold to them at a much lower price than they would bring at the nearest market place."

All this seemed to offer an Eldorado to those who would emigrate. The common people crowded to the society headquarters, but none were received except such as could take with them not less than six hundred florins a family, or three hundred francs a single man. Of such as these a thousand names were enrolled the first day, some of whom were worth from 10,000 to 20,000 florins. The nobility, having their own private ends in view, joined in with them, and in 1844 all arrangements were completed to send over a great body of colonists, and yet the society did not own an acre of ground on which to locate them! It was then that an adventurer, Bourgeois d'Orvanne, offered the society land granted to him by President Houston of Texas under the law of the republic passed January 4th, 1841. This land bordered on the township of old San Antonio de Bexar. The society purchased this from him, and Prince Solms-Braunfels was sent out in May, 1844, to prepare for the coming of the colonists.

So great was the rush to be a part of this first expedition, that one hundred florins was paid to the society by each emigrant for that privilege and for participating in the promised benefits. Three ships set sail with them in the early fall of 1844, and when these vessels were in mid-ocean, the officers of the society discovered that they could not claim the

land which they had bought from D'Orvanne. This needed actual settlement within a certain time to perfect the title, and it had been already forfeited back to the republic for non-fulfillment at the very time that it had been sold to the society of Mayence. It was too late to stop the emigrants; they would soon arrive, and Prince Solms was in a quandary. At this juncture two German-Texans came to the rescue; these were Burchard Miller and Henry F. Fisher, consul for Bremen at Galveston. They had received grants to large bodies of land between the Colorado and San Saba, on condition that they should colonize upon them six



COUNT CORRETH OF THE TYROL.

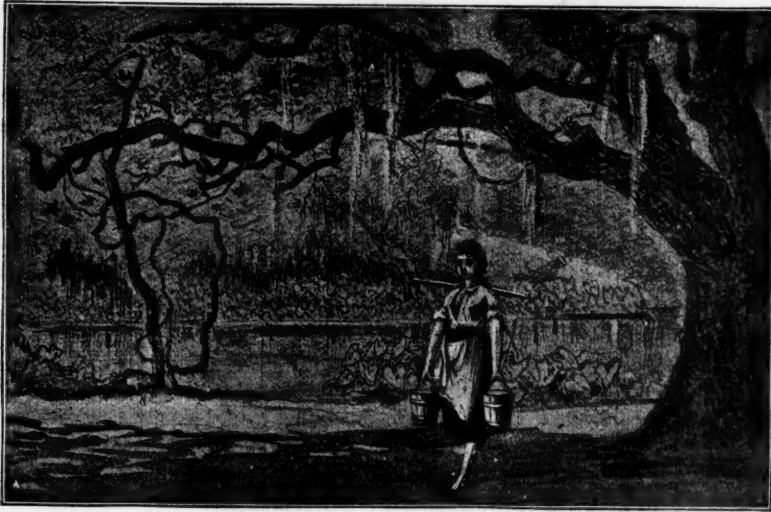
thousand souls; two hundred families to be settled within one year, and within three years six hundred families to be there located. The government agreed to give each family six hundred and forty acres, and half that amount to each single man. Besides this, to each colony of a hundred families a premium of one extra section (six hundred and forty acres) was given, and the contractors received ten of these sections for every one hundred families located.

This contract, with all its generous provisions on the part of the Republic of Texas, Fisher and Miller transferred to the society of Mayence on the following conditions: "That on the 24th June, 1845,

it should make a first payment to Fisher and Miller of one hundred Louis d'or, and engage itself to pay on the 5th of July to Fisher 14,000 florins; the society moreover to raise 200,000 florins to cover the cost of the first settlement." All this money was to be refunded to the society as soon as the colonists were able, and whenever the return payment should be completed the society was to receive two-thirds of all revenue (net proceeds) accruing to the colony, and Fisher and Miller one third.

It is impossible to see where any benefit to the colonists came into this arrangement. It is true that they were assured a subsistence and were allowed time in which to discharge all debts thus incurred; but they were forced to pay for homes which had been promised them as a "donation," and, once clear of debt, all the revenues from their land and labor, outside of their actual expenses, were to go to the projectors of the colony. If this contract had been carried out, the settlers could never have attained the independence of even a modest competency.

The society seemed to understand well how to look out for its own interests, yet it conducted its business in a loose and irregular manner, as appears in the very first instance by its worthless purchase from D'Orvanne, and next by the acceptance of Fisher's land-grant, which was a perfect *terra incognita*, being distant more than a hundred miles from any settlement; and scarcely ever touched by a white foot. No one even knew whether or not the land was fit for colonization; only one thing was certain, it was in full possession of the Indians. As it was, however, this unknown grant, though containing a considerable area of barren rock, had also much arable and fertile land, fine forests and a plentiful supply of good water; the mountains too possessed a real treasure of minerals, only waiting to be discovered and utilized. But none of this benefited the society, for its plans in respect to the grant failed utterly, as we shall see, and the lands of the Colorado, Llano and San Saba are now mostly in the hands of Americans; only a few German settlements bear witness that a German empire was to be founded there. It cannot, however, be denied that to the society of Mayence belongs the credit of having started German mass-emigration to Texas. In saying that, all is said; for whatever it did beside only hindered the success of the colonists. All its plans of assistance were ill-advised and incompletely carried out, and its interests were too many and too diverse to be made to agree harmoniously. That there are now large and flourishing German settlements in Texas, is due to the colonists themselves, and it may be said that their future was not secured until the moment arrived when the society entirely suspended its operations in Texas.



HISTORIC OAK TREE UNDER WHICH PRINCE OF SOLMS-BRAUNFELS AND COUNCIL HELD THEIR FIRST MEETING.

The three vessels sent out by the society landed in Galveston in December, 1844, where they were met by Prince of Solms-Braunfels, commissioner-general of the society of Mayence. This prince, to whom was intrusted the establishment upon American soil of an Anglo-Teutonic anti-slavery republic, was a Catholic and in the service of Austria. He combined in his own person two princely houses; his paternal estate of Braunfels was in the southern part of Germany; his mother was the Princess Frederika of Mecklenburg Strelitz, sister to Louisa of Prussia, the mother of the late Emperor Wilhelm. Prince of Solms-Braunfels' father dying, his mother married again, this time with Ernest August, the Duke of Cumberland and Prince Royal of Great Britain and Ireland; thus George the Fifth of Hanover was Prince of Solms' half brother, and Victoria of England his cousin. This close connection with the reigning house made him have, naturally, English interests close at heart. He was a man of great ability, a keen judge of human nature, whole-souled, warm-hearted, high-spirited, but not too proud; indeed he was a cavalier of the old school, liberal and friendly towards every one, yet every inch a prince, and seemingly the very man to make such a thing a success.

The immigrants were carried by ship from Galveston to Lavacca Bay, where a few were landed at Lavacca itself, but the greater part

at Indian Point, near the newly founded Carlshafen, afterwards Indianola. The history of this little German settlement is a fitting illustration of how the fury of the elements may frustrate man's best-laid plans. This town received many accessions in population from the constantly arriving colonists. Situated as it was on a fine bay, and admirably adapted to commerce, it was soon sought out by many American families. It became of good size and of considerable commercial importance, when in 1872 a storm devastated it. The citizens then moved to a higher spot on Aransas Pass, called Powder Horn. The inhabitants put their wooden houses on wheels and rolled them to the new location. It was not long before the town flourished, but again in 1875 the waters arose in their might and the place was almost totally destroyed; over a hundred persons perished. After this the town began to decay in importance. People were afraid to engage in new enterprises or to erect fine buildings there, and with a wise prudence; for in 1879 another storm ravaged it, after which all its remaining business houses were moved away to some safer site. The United States signal station was, however, still kept up until last year, when yet another storm occurring, attended with further loss of life and property, it was determined to utterly abandon the place. Thus was Indianola done to death by wind and waves; it has passed out of existence, and so ended one of the German settlements in Texas, though it has never been claimed as belonging to their peculiar system of colonization.

Upon arriving at Indian Point the immigrants built for themselves a few cabins until transportation could be arranged. It was not until March 1st that they were joined by Prince of Solms-Braunfels and took up their line of march for that unknown tract of land which they were to colonize.

Solms-Braunfels traveled like a prince, with his comfortable tents, his cook and servants. He was surrounded by a host of cavaliers, barons and noblemen, also by his body-guard of young, strong men. This was commanded by Von Wrede, and was intended to be the nucleus of a future army. Every member of the Prince's party was splendidly mounted, but the mass of the immigrants were obliged to walk; only the children and women who were weak and ailing were allowed to ride in ox wagons.

This journey lasted nearly four weeks and necessarily had something of hardship in it, especially for foreigners accustomed to the beaten track and settled ways of old countries. They were longer on the road than they had anticipated; the society land was still at a great distance, and already the Indians were appearing on the scene. At this juncture the

Prince determined he would take them no farther, and established them in camp on Spring Creek, where they were afterwards provisioned from Galveston. He then rode on to San Antonio; there he was told by John Rahm, an old Texan, of "Las Fontanas"—the beautiful Comal Springs. Dan Murchison, a scout belonging to Captain Jack Hays' famous company of Texas Rangers, piloted him to the place. It was in a magnificent tract of land, which he purchased from its Spanish owners. The Lipan Indians lived in that vicinity and used all this Comal country as hunting grounds. The Prince soon concluded a treaty with them and marked out the site of the City of New Braunfels, named after his paternal estates, on the west of the Comal and Guadalupe rivers, a mile above their junction. Then the immigrants came up on the east side of the river, and the first wagon crossed the Guadalupe on Good Friday, the 21st March, 1845.

The spot where the Prince located his colony seemed to have been created for the purpose. It was entrancing to the eye and offered all the blessings of salubrious air, limpid streams, thick forests and fertile lands. At the base of sloping, calcareous mountains, an extensive hill region stretched far away, partly woodland and partly prairie, while near at hand the crystal waters of the Comal River burst forth from the mountain side, its volume swelled by numerous springs that welled up in the most beautiful natural park the world ever produced. From the south a rivulet wound along the base of the heights for a distance of eight miles, emptying at length into the Comal, while the latter discharged its waters into the Guadalupe flowing down from the west. On the rolling plateau bordered by these three streams the Prince established the first colony of the Mayence Society.

A fortified camp was constructed on the high bluff of the Comal, and here the settlers remained until town lots had been assigned them. These contained a half acre of land, and one was given to each head of a family and to every single man over seventeen. Afterwards a ten acre field in the surrounding country was donated to the families, and to every single man five acres, all of which was to be considered as part payment of the six hundred and forty acres which had been promised them.

Now building began; the first house to be constructed was, of course, for the Prince. It was a double block-house exquisitely situated on the top of a high hill commanding a view of the whole town site and of much of the surrounding country. Solms-Braunfels called it "the Sophienberg" in honor of his betrothed, "her most serene highness Lady Sophia, widowed Princess of Salm-Salm, born Princess of Lowenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg-Rochefort." The ceremony of naming this place was con-

ducted in the most solemn and impressive manner, the hoisting of the Austrian flag under which he was then serving being a part of the ceremonial. The Prince laid the corner stone for this building himself and deposited therein the following document, which will show how widespread in its influence was this move of England's, taking in as it did all the most prominent and influential German princes and noblemen. Yet they were politic and secret in the extreme, for this official document shows only the philanthropic side of the matter, saying never a word as to the machinations of the Prince's English cousins which had been discovered by Hamilton and Ashbel Smith long before.

"In the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-two, an association of Princes, Counts and Gentlemen was formed in Germany, who, mindful of the increasing excess of population and the poverty growing therefrom, particularly among the lower classes of the people, made it their object to redress this evil by regulating the already considerable emigration. The number of members was at that time twenty-one, viz. :

His Highness, the Duke of Nassau.

His Highness, the Prince of Lienenen (President).

His Highness, the Prince Moritz of Nassau.

His Highness, the reigning Prince of Schwarzburg Rudolstadt.

His Highness, the reigning Prince of Solms-Braunfels.

His Highness, the reigning Prince of Wied.

His Highness, the Prince Colloredo.

His Highness, the Prince Alexander of Solms-Braunfels.

His Highness, the Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels.

The Illustrious Count of Castell (Vice-President).

The Illustrious Count of Colloredo.

The Illustrious Count August of New Lienenen Westerbürg.

The Illustrious Count Christian of New Lienenen Westerbürg.

The Illustrious Count Friedrich of Alt Lienenen.

The Illustrious Count Victor of Alt Lienenen.

The Illustrious widowed Countess of Isenburg-Meerholz.

The Illustrious Count Edmund of Hatzfeld.

The Illustrious Count Clemens of Boos-Waldeck.

The Illustrious Count Joseph of Boos-Waldeck.

The Illustrious Count Anton of Boos-Waldeck.

The Illustrious Count Renesse.

The attention of the association having been directed to Texas, Count Joseph of Boos-Waldeck, and Count Victor of Lienenen, were sent there

in order to make a more particular examination. Count Boos founded the farm Nassau on Jack Creek, but Count Lienenen returned in May, 1843, and made a favorable report on the subject. By a general meeting held in June, 1843, in the Castle of Bieberich, the colonization was resolved upon and the association adopted the name 'Association for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas.'

Count Boos having also returned in January, 1844, I, the undersigned, was appointed Commissioner-General of the Association, and was sent there with the order to found the first settlement of the Association. The Association was by this time changed so far that the Counts of Boos-Waldeck had withdrawn, while some new members had joined the same. Whereby in June, 1844, the Association consisted of the following gentlemen, viz.:

His Highness, the Duke of Nassau (Protector).

His Highness, Prince Lienenen (President).

The Illustrious Count Carl of Castell (Vice-President and Business Director elect).

His Highness, the Duke of Saxe Coburg Gotha.

His Highness, the Duke of Meiningen Ailburghausen.

His Royal Highness, the Prince Friedrich of Prussia.

His Highness, the Prince Moritz of Nassau.

His Highness, the reigning Prince of Schwarzburg Rudolstadt.

His Highness, the reigning Landgrave of Hesse Hamburg.

His Highness, the reigning Prince of Solms-Braunfels.

His Highness, the reigning Prince of Wied.

His Highness, Prince Colloredo.

His Highness, Prince Alexander of Solms-Braunfels.

His Highness, Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels.

The Illustrious reigning Count of Isenburg Meerholz.

The Illustrious Count August of New Lienenen-Westerburg.

The Illustrious Count Christian of New Lienenen-Westerburg.

The Illustrious Count Friedrich of Alt Lienenen.

The Illustrious Count Colloredo.

The Illustrious widowed Countess of Isenburg Meerholz.

The Illustrious Count Edmund of Hatzfeld.

The Illustrious Count Renesse.

The Illustrious Count Knyphausen.

The Illustrious Count Vetter of Lilienfeld.

I departed on the 13th of May from Bingen, and on the 19th of the

same month from Liverpool, on board the steamer *Caledonia* for Boston. On the first day of July, 1844, I landed at Galveston and traveled since through the territory of Texas in every direction to acquire exact knowledge of it. In November, the first vessel with immigrants landed at Galveston; it was the Bremen brig, *Johann Dethart*. On — December the *Herschel* followed, and on — December the *Ferdinand*. The immigrants were at once shipped on board of schooners and landed at Lavacca Bay, partly at Lavacca itself, but the greater part thereof at Indian Point, (close to the newly founded Carlshafen) March 1st, 1845. I myself arrived with a few companions on this tract of land, and on Good Friday, the 21st, the first wagons with immigrants crossed the Guadalupe. Camp was established on Comal Creek, and from there the town was laid out to which I gave the name, New Braunfels.

Thus I had fulfilled my order, but not without having undergone manifold privations, hardships and dangers; for traveling in the heat of summer, sometimes twenty miles without water, and in the western part of the country roved over by Indians, as well as sea voyages in small, miserable and badly conducted vessels, are naturally accompanied there by. But I bore them as becomes a German and a man, and I do attribute it, next to the protection of the Most High, chiefly to the memory of that Lady to whom I devoted my heart and by the thought of whom nothing appeared to be insurmountable. As a tribute of gratitude due to her, and in order also to establish a lasting memory of her name on this side of the ocean, I name the fortification erected for the protection of New Braunfels and which shall enclose the government buildings, "The Sophienberg." I laid the corner stone for it on Monday, the 28th day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-five, and enclosed this document and the picture of her most serene Highness Lady Sophia, widowed Princess of Salm-Salm, born Princess of Lowenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg-Rochefort.

Authenticated by my signature and the impress of my family seal.

CARL FRIEDRICH WILHELM LUDWIG GEORG ALFRED ALEXANDER

Prince of Solms, Lord of Braunfels, Grafenstein Muenzenberg Wildenfels and Sonnenwalde, Commissioner-General for the protection of German immigrants in Texas, His Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty's captain in King Friedrich August of Saxony III Cuirassier Regiment, Grand Cross of the Royal Hanoverian Guelph order and of the Ducal Brunswick order of Henry the Lion, and Knight of the order of St. George of Lucca.

Sophienberg, Sunday the 27th April, 1845."

The foregoing is a translation recently made by the private secretary of Prince Solms of the original draft of the document which was placed in the corner stone of The Sophienberg, which draft was found in the archives of the German Emigration Society.

It is in keeping with the chivalrous character with which this Prince is accredited, that he should thank "God and his fayre Ladye" for the success of his undertaking, and have dedicated the first fruits of his enter-



NEW BRAUNFELS BEER GARDEN, 1845.

prise as a monument to her to whom he had "devoted" his heart. This touch of sentiment hung ever about the place during his short *régime*, which may be considered as the romantic and chivalrous era of New Braunfels.

After the Sophienberg was built, the council had three log-houses erected for the accommodation of the immigrants until their own places should be improved. They faced the street called *Lustig Strumpf* (merry stocking), and were afterwards the scene of dire distress and death.

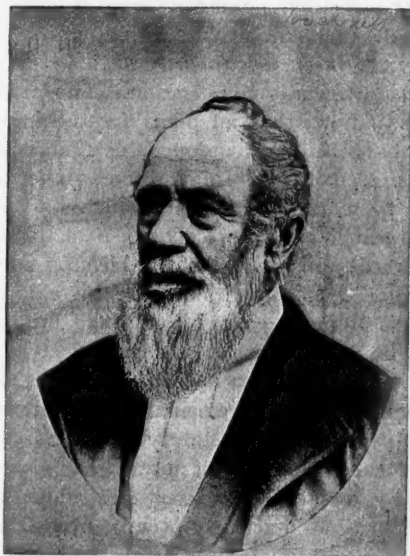
The colonists next turned their attention to building log-houses for

themselves. They had until then lived in huts covered with prairie grass and brush. The Prince's secretary, Herman Seele, built the first log-house on the Guadalupe—a primitive structure, as will be seen hereafter, but only the first step to that easy competency which now distinguishes him.

The Sophienberg was intended to be a fortification, but it does not appear that it ever had rampart, fosse or redoubt; it was the residence and headquarters of the commissioner-general; here he surrounded himself with state, organizing the departments of government, with his advisory council, his attorney, his secretaries and clerks. He also established a kind of *garde d'honneur* to his own princely person and formed a military company to keep his mimic realm in safety.

It was too late now in the season to plant and raise a crop, but the colonists did not suffer as yet for any of the necessities of life. Before they left Germany they were induced to deposit all their ready money with an officer of the society in Bremen, upon the understanding that it was to be returned to them in American money in Texas; but once in Texas, the society was never in funds and it was impossible for the colonists to get their own. The best they could do was to draw provisions against their account, for it does not appear that the society kept its word as to furnishing them free until the immigrants became self-supporting. All that they took for support was charged up to them, and the worst consequences of this pernicious system instituted by the society was that the immigrants did not feel the necessity for work, but lived thoughtlessly and recklessly from day to day. They drew whatever they wanted, and Siemerling relates in his manuscripts, that whisky, wines and champagne flowed like water. The great majority dissipated in this way their entire fortunes, which had been left in the company's hands. Those few who were economical fared still worse, for they not only stinted themselves so as not to draw upon the fund deposited in Bremen, trusting to get it back in one sum, but they lost their all; for to this day it has never been returned. While the money lasted the extravagant ones led a gay life. In a small place near the market-house there was continually music and dancing, not only in the evening, but during the day. There the colonists met full of mirth and jollity, and frolicked until late in the night. On the Sophienberg, too, a merry life was led; there great banquets, enlivened with rare wines, were given, but, it is said, that "at these the grandees made a show of holding high and intellectual converse," not caring for the common people to know of their carousals. Indeed the life of a common citizen did not suit Prince Solms-Braunfels; he was quite unable to divest himself of his princely character and could not shake off his old habit of ceremonial observances.

Military form seemed to govern whatever he did. When he received Indians he appeared in full dress uniform; all his letters and documents were sealed and stamped with his name and arms, which were engraved on the hilt of his sword. To his own people it, presumably, was a matter of course when his Highness went out from his own roof to see him attired in all the glory of uniform and orders, and attended by his *garde* of young cavaliers; but to the practical eye of the American pioneer all this pomp and circumstance contrasted with the primitive huts of the settlers, and



OTTO, BARON VON MEUSEBACH.

the rough and new surroundings must have seemed entirely out of keeping and farcical in the extreme.

The affairs of the colony were administered by the Prince as commissioner-general, with the help of an advisory council who were appointed by the society in Europe. Of these Fisher filled the position of secretary and stood at their head as representing such large personal interests, though as yet not one soul had settled on his land grant, and this in spite of the large accessions to their numbers which had been received by the colonists in June, 1845. The other members of the board were Dr. Theodore Koester, the medical director; Louis Cachand Ervenberg, the pastor of the colony, and the surveyor, whose name seems to have been forgot-

ten. Each member had one vote, but the Prince had two. The first meeting of the council was held under a large oak in the lovely park of the Comal Springs. The tree was then crowned with verdure, and the gushing, sparkling water sang its song to the luxuriant caladiums which grew along its margin. Here the German girls came to fill their buckets, which they carried suspended from each end of a yoke which lay across the neck. These they still use, and very picturesque and un-American do the girls look in their straight skirts and short bodices.

The lands of the society, purchased from Fisher and Miller, still remained unexplored. The conditions attending the perfecting of the title were well known to the management, and they were urgent that some effort should be made towards colonization. The Prince wrote, telling them of the true situation; that all plans for the immediate settling of their grant would have to be abandoned, as that country was in the possession of numerous tribes of Indians, and so far removed from all white habitation as to make it totally unavailable. But he submitted to them a plan upon which he had resolved; namely, to push on from New Braunfels towards the San Saba, establishing stations as he went. These would be magazines of supplies and furnish aid to the pioneers in case of danger. This project seemed feasible and met with the approbation of the society, but it was never put into practice. The Prince was not quick to execute and he did not seem to have much forethought. As long as there was a sufficiency of provisions for his settlers he was content. He thought he had performed his full duty when he supplied their present bodily wants; the future troubled him not at all. The only thing which rendered him uneasy was the increasing talk about annexation to the United States. If this should actually occur it would be a death blow to all their schemes. The tactics of England would have miscarried, the German princes be deprived of a goodly revenue, and his own return to Germany be necessitated. Unfortunately for his ambition, his worst fears were realized. The day came at last upon which the people of Texas were to vote for or against annexation. The Prince was confident that the settlers would, to a man, vote against it. So certain was he that on the day of election he had the black and yellow flag hoisted over the Sophienberg; but the result was contrary to his desires and expectations. He saw with chagrin that his countrymen rebelled against him, for with shouts and acclamations they ran up the stars and stripes over the marketplace. So great was the mortification of Prince Solms that he at once began to speak of resigning, and shortly after bade farewell to America and returned to Germany.



NEW BRAUNFELS DRAMATIC CLUB, 1850.

The short period of the Prince's *régime* simply served to establish the colonists on their land. They had so far lived without work and did not seem to realize the long and fierce struggle before them. Subsequent immigration had swelled their numbers to goodly proportions; the newcomers had been given town lots and farms, and all were provided by the company with rations of beef and other provisions, also with wagons and farming implements from the magazines. Working steers were sold them on credit. The officers of the society owned milch cows, but the first bought by a colonist was purchased in Bastrop in the fall of 1845.

With the Indians Prince Solms had made treaties of friendship when he purchased the land, and these were strengthened and perpetuated by the invariably kind treatment shown them by all the society's officers. Still there were no cases of intermarriage or amalgamation, such as have invariably occurred in the settlements made by the Latin races. The country swarmed with savages, but with the exception that they occasionally killed cattle and stole horses, they did not molest the colonists. Only once, in October, 1845, did they take life; then they surprised the camp of two brave men of New Braunfels, who were on their return from Austin, and murdered them ruthlessly. However, that little slip did not

seem to count; their death went unavenged and friendly relations remained uninterrupted, which, after all, was the wisest way. Whether the Indians were really won over by kindness or stood in wholesome dread of the artillery and rifles of the colonists, certain it is that they ever afterwards maintained a peaceful attitude towards them, and even when at war with the rest of Texas, if they took a captive with blue eyes and fair hair they would say "*Allemand*," and spare his life. The Sophienberg was once the scene of a magnificent banquet given by the Prince to the Comanche chief *Santa Ana*. The German officers were in all the glory of uniforms and orders; the Indian warriors in full array of paint and feathers and buckskin trappings. The delicate wines of Europe tickled their unaccustomed palates, and the feast broke up leaving the savage participants in a state of great good humor and inebriation.

At the time of the settlement of New Braunfels there was employed in the general court of justice at Potsdam, a very capable young man, who did not think that Germany offered sufficient scope for his talents. He was descended from a peasant who had befriended Charles XII. of Sweden. After the battle of Pultowa this monarch fled to Turkey, taking refuge in Bender. The Sultan became suspicious of him and he was taken to Adrianople, from whence he escaped on horseback and rode until he came to Pomerania, where this peasant, Meusebach, furnished him with money and means to return to Sweden. In gratitude for this Charles knighted him, making him a baron. His young descendant wished to emigrate to Texas, which he believed to be the land of the future. The society, in sore perplexity over the resignation and return of Prince Solms-Braunfels, hoped to find in Meusebach an able servant and a fit successor to the Prince. They thought him to be the right man for the undertaking and offered him the post of commissioner-general of New Braunfels. The Baron accepted the position and started without delay for his new field of activity. He was undoubtedly possessed of the very best intentions and believed he could regulate in a satisfactory manner the affairs of the society, as well as those of the settlers. He took with him to Texas large sums of money, and was strong in his determination so to do all that was fair and just for the immigrants; but he little knew the difficulties which he was to encounter.

After Prince Solms' departure and the failure of the plans of Great Britain, the effect was very noticeable in the subsequent policy pursued. English money being no longer paid to the German princes, they cut short the supplies of the colonists. Large numbers of emigrants came over in the fall of 1845, but no money was sent with them, and the stores of the

society were being rapidly depleted. Their beef cattle were all consumed, and, as no crops were made that year, the prospects for the winter and ensuing spring were dismal. Solms-Braunfels had left everything in a chaotic state. Meusebach had business capacity, perseverance and personal courage, but he lacked knowledge of the country and of the people to whom he intended to devote his talents and energy. He found things very different from what he had expected, and indeed in a most deplorable condition. Everywhere difficulties confronted him, which neither his energy nor his means sufficed to overcome. The settlers were clamorous for the money which they had deposited with the society in Germany. Meusebach could not give it to them, having none at his command for such a purpose; he could only promise and determine to do his best to induce the management to refund them their means.

The first thing to which he devoted himself was providing provisions—for bitter want stared them in the face, and now commenced the serious hardships of the colony. Fisher was sent to New Orleans to arrange about supplies, but utterly failed to establish a credit there. This was due to a lack of contributions from the members of the society. When the officers of the colony asked for a hundred thousand dollars to properly care for and establish the immigrants under their care, they received but twenty-five thousand, and were told to make a full report before they could draw more. The report made, they were still put off, and in the meantime the society was sending men—always men, but neither money nor food; indeed it was virtually bankrupt when Meusebach took charge. The settlers had to endure great privations, and much suffering would have ensued had it not been for the Texas Rangers under Captain Jack Hays. They had ever taken a kindly interest in the colonists, and now came promptly to their assistance, not only lending them money, but standing their security with the merchants of Bastrop so as to enable them to procure the necessaries of life. To this day the people of New Braunfels speak of the command with gratitude, and mention the names of Hays, McCollough, Highsmith, and Burleson, with love and admiration.

Yet the colonists did not seem to realize their situation. They were so accustomed to depend upon the society and its officers for everything, that they took life so easy as to amount to license. Strange scenes, indeed, were enacted upon the virgin soil of the lovely valley where the springs of the Comal pour their waters into the Guadalupe; German barons, scholars and philosophers, and thousands of the German people, hard working and sober no longer, but become utterly demoralized by the new life upon which they had entered.

Things grew from bad to worse. Various diseases broke out, resulting chiefly from the want of vegetable food; yet the people took little thought of labor, but led wild and dissolute lives. Siemering relates in his manuscripts that all family ties seemed to be loosened, the married men even exchanging wives. They danced and drank, and seemed as if trying to drown their despair in hilarity, and by engaging in a whirl of dissipation endeavored to blind themselves to the troubles of their situation.

In the midst of this Van Meusebach was notified by the society that there were more emigrants coming with a view to settling the society lands. This only added to the embarrassment of his position. New Braunfels was at that time situated on the Indian frontier, and between that colony and the land grant purchased from Fisher (the nearest point of which was distant 125 miles) the Indians were in undisputed possession, and not a white settler had dared to locate in such wild territory. No officer of the society even knew where the colonial lands were situated, and they were as ignorant of their quality and value. It had now become important to find out about this territory, and, if possible, clear a way to it; for the time allowed by the republic for the settlement of the first two hundred families was fast expiring, and the interests of the society were threatened with loss. Under such circumstances it behooved the Baron to be up and doing; he therefore determined on carrying out Prince Solms' plan of establishing a way station from whence they could operate on the north. He equipped an expedition for that purpose and set out on that journey. Eighty miles north-west of New Braunfels, and six miles from the little river, Perdinales, Meusebach secured a body of land in the centre of which he founded a new colony, calling it Fredricksburg, in honor of Prince Frederick of Prussia.

Lee C. Hearby

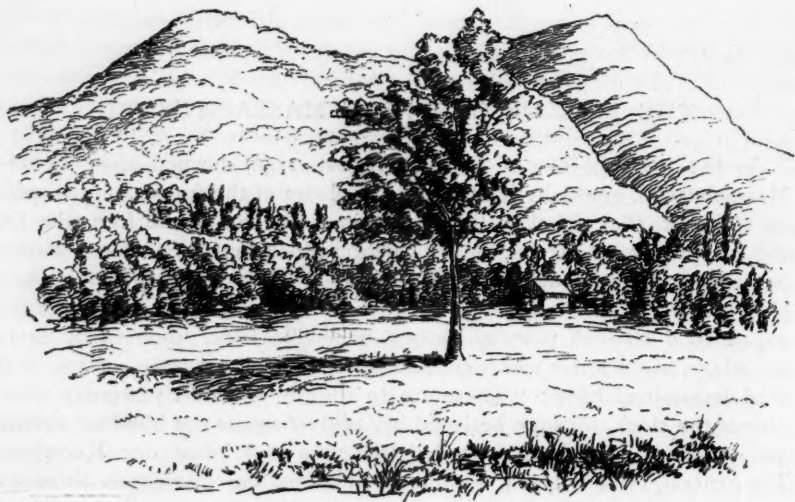
[To be continued.]

THE SITE OF OLD FORT MASSACHUSETTS

As the morning of the 21st of August, 1746, dawned upon western Massachusetts, gradually lighting up the gloom of the forests, and dispelling the mists that rolled up the mountain sides, the smoke from the fire still smoldering among the logs and debris which but a few hours before had constituted the defense known as Fort Massachusetts, curled sluggishly upward until wafted away above the desolate scene. Securely nailed to a charred post which still remained erect upon the western boundary, was a letter which contained the following words written in a bold determined hand: "These are to inform you that yesterday about nine of the clock, we were besieged by, as they say, seven hundred French and Indians. They have wounded two men and killed one Knowlton. The general, De Vaudreuil, desired capitulation, and we were so distressed that we complied with his terms. We are the French's prisoners, and have it under the General's hand, that every man, woman and child, shall be exchanged for French prisoners."

To understand the import of these words, written in the moment of great suffering, anguish, and terror, we must turn to the causes that led to its production. Soon after war was declared between France and England, and consequently between their respective colonies with their allies, the Indians, a war which continued from 1644 to 1749, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts raised five hundred men to be stationed at points which seemed the most open to attack, and the General Court of Massachusetts ordered a line of forts to be constructed to extend from the Connecticut river to the boundary of New York. These were Fort Shirley in Heath, Fort Pelham in Rowe, and Fort Massachusetts in Adams, and they were for the special protection of the northwestern frontier. They were known as Province forts, being more elaborate and scientific in their construction than the usual blockade houses. One important feature consisted in the mounts or towers with bullet-proof walls for the use of sharpshooters, and for watching the movements of the besiegers. They were furthermore provided with a regular garrison of enlisted men, who were under more or less strict discipline.

Fort Massachusetts was the most noted fort in the province with the exception of some upon the seacoast. It consisted of six blockade-houses or barracks—surrounded by a high stockade of hewn logs, enclosing a



SITE OF OLD FORT MASSACHUSETTS.

space of about two acres. To the command of these posts was assigned Capt. Ephraim Williams, the founder of Williams' College. Fort Frederic, afterwards Crown Point, upon Lake Champlain, was the rendezvous for the Canadian forces in their raids against New York and New England. From this point they still had canoe navigation for twenty-five miles in a southeasterly direction, where with a short "carry" they struck the Hudson River, which was followed to the junction of the Hoosac, and thence up that river. Larger expeditions left their canoes and batteaux at the termination of the lake navigation, and following a trail leading through the forests struck the Hoosac river twenty miles or more below the present town of North Adams. Following this valley eastward they crossed the Hoosac, and descending the Deerfield river, could fall upon the villages along the Connecticut river. For the especial defense of this valley, and of the scattered hamlets beyond, Fort Massachusetts reared a rude but sturdy front. With the exception of one or two attacks upon working parties in the vicinity of the fort in the spring of 1746, nothing had occurred to disturb the tranquillity of this outpost until the events which led to its destruction in August. The regular garrison consisted of fifty men, but from various causes this force had been greatly reduced—numbering only twenty-two, including the sergeant and chaplain, and eleven who were sick.

Fortunately we have a detailed account of these events preserved in "The Redeemed Captive," by Rev. John Norton, who had been settled in the ministry at Bernardston but was now chaplain of this fort. He was a man about thirty years of age. The valiant parson thus writes: "Tuesday, August 19, 1746. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, when, through the good providence of God, we were all in the fort, twenty-two men, three women and five children, there appeared an army of French and Indians eight or nine hundred in number, commanded by Monsieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil, who having surrounded it on every side, began with hideous acclamations to rush forward upon the fort, firing incessantly upon us from every side. Mr. Hanks, our officer, ordered that we should let them come without firing at all upon them until they should approach within a suitable distance, that we might have a good prospect of doing execution. We suffered them to come up in a body till they were within twenty rods of us, and then we fired, upon which the enemy soon betook themselves to tree-stumps and logs, where they lay and fired incessantly upon us. At the beginning of the engagement the General sent his ensign with his standard, which he, standing behind a tree about thirty rods distant from the fort, displayed; the General also walked up the hill within about forty rods of the fort and there he stood and gave his orders. . . . We were straitened for want of shot—therefore the sergeant ordered some of our sick men to make bullets. . . . This put him upon taking particular notice of the ammunition and he found it to be very short, so that we fired but very little. We saw several fall, who we are persuaded, never rose again. . . . Towards evening the enemy began to use their axes and hatchets. Some were preparing ladders in order to storm the fort in the night, but we afterwards found our mistake, for they were preparing faggots in order to burn it. When the evening came on, the sergeant gave orders that all the pails, tubs and vessels of every sort in every room, should be filled with water. . . . He distributed the men into the several rooms. . . . He kept two men in the northwest mount, and some in the great house, the southeast corner of the fort, to watch the enemy and keep them back. I was in the mount all the evening. . . . They continued to fire upon us until between eight and nine at night, when the whole army (as we supposed) surrounded the fort, and shouted or rather yelled with the most hideous outcries. This they repeated three or four times. We expected they would have followed this with a storm, but were mistaken, for they directly set their watch round the fort.

"Wednesday, August 20. As soon as it began to be light the enemy shouted and began to fire upon us for a few minutes. The sergeant

ordered every man to his place and sent two men up into the watch-box. A number of the enemy went up into the mountain north of the fort where they could shoot over the north side of the fort into the middle of the parade. About eleven o'clock Thomas Knowlton, one of our men, being in the watch-box was shot through the head.

"About twelve o'clock the enemy desired to parley. We agreed to it, and when we came to General De Vaudreuil, he promised us good quarters if we would surrender—otherwise he should endeavour to take us by force. The sergeant told him he should have an answer within two hours. We came into the fort and examined the state of it. The whole of our ammunition we did not judge to be above three or four pounds of powder, and not more lead, and after prayers unto God for wisdom and direction, we considered our case, whether there was any probability of our being able to withstand the enemy or not. . . . Had we all been in health or had there been only those eight of us that were in health, I believe every man would willingly have stood it out to the last. For my part I should, but we heard that if we were taken by violence, the sick, the wounded and the women, would most, if not all of them, die by the hands of the savages; therefore our officer concluded to surrender on the best terms he could get, which were. 1st. That we should be all prisoners to the French: the General promising that the savages should have nothing to do with any of us. 2d. That the children should all live with their parents during the time of their captivity. 3d. That we should all have the privilege of being exchanged the first opportunity that presented.

"The General also promised that all the prisoners should have Christian care and charity exercised toward them, that those who were weak and unable to travel, should be carried on their journey; that we should all be allowed to keep our clothing; and that we might leave a few lines to inform our friends what had become of us. About three of the clock we admitted the General and a number of his officers into the fort, upon which he set up his standard. The gate was not opened to the rest. But the Indians soon fell to pulling out the underpinning of the fort and crept into it, opened the gates, so that the parade was quickly full. After they had plundered the fort, they set it on fire and led us to their camp. Thursday August 21. In the morning I obtained liberty to go to the place of the fort, and get up a letter, which I did, with a Frenchman and some Indians in company. I nailed the letter on the west post. We then put up our things and set out on our march for Crown Point, going down the river on Hoosack road."

Space prevents us from quoting further from this quaint narrative. We

learn from it that the prisoners were all treated with exceptional humanity; a lame man and the women and children were carried bodily throughout a greater portion of the journey. One of the women was delivered of a daughter in the evening of the first day, and was afterwards carried with her babe, by relays of men, upon a frame like a bier covered with skins. The child was christened "Captivity" by Chaplain Norton. Mother and child bore the journey well, but both died the following spring. The French arrived at Crown Point on the 27th, and after a short stay reached Quebec September 16. Great mortality prevailed among the prisoners there, brought from various quarters. Four of the soldiers, and all of the women and children from Fort Massachusetts died in captivity.

The French account of the expedition is that it left Montreal the third of August, under Monsieur de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. Besides the regular officers, there were four hundred colonists and three hundred Indians. They attacked a fort on a branch of the Hoosac, which had a garrison of twenty-two men with three women and five children, and after a fight of twenty-six hours with small loss, the garrison surrendered. The fort was burned on the same day.

The General Court of Massachusetts ordered the fort to be rebuilt, and it was completed in June, 1747. In the following year a large force of the enemy placed themselves in ambush near it, but they were driven off by a strong party from the fort with small loss on both sides. The treaty of peace in 1849 closed hostilities in this region.

As the traveller of to-day is hurried luxuriously through this historic valley he will notice, when about half way between North Adams and Williamstown, looking to the south, an extensive verdant meadow the borders of which are fringed by noble trees which mark the windings of the Hoosac river. In the background the forest-clad ridges of Saddle-back mountain rise boldly, and to the north is the craggy eminence from which the chaplain says, "the enemy could shoot over into the middle of the parade." The site of the old fort is marked by a solitary elm.

Pierre Francois Rigaud de Vaudreuil was the brother of the last French governor of Canada. He was successively lieutenant-governor of Quebec, governor of Three Rivers and Montreal, and was reputed a brave soldier, plain, affable and beneficent.



VINDICATION OF GENERAL SAMUEL HOLDEN PARSONS

Editor of Magazine of American History :

My attention has recently been drawn to that portion of the "Secret Intelligence Papers of Sir Henry Clinton" which relates to the correspondence of W. Heron in reference to General Parsons, published in the *Magazine of American History*, 1883-1884.* This record, as it appears, involves General Parsons in a charge of treasonable correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton while in command of American forces during the War of the Revolution. Will you allow me to present my views of this matter, and the facts I have ascertained, which I do with the conviction that I can remove from the fame which General Parsons has so long enjoyed in American history every shadow which the lately discovered correspondence has cast over it?

General Parsons, as is well known, was the son of Rev. Jonathan Parsons, a strong-minded and influential New England clergyman, who was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1705, and was graduated at Yale in 1729. He was pastor of the church in Lyme, Connecticut, from 1731 to 1745, where he married the sister of Governor Matthew Griswold, a lineal descendant of Henry Wolcott, the ancestor of the eminent Wolcott family, in Connecticut; but, having become a friend and follower of Whitfield, he removed to Newburyport, and gave the great preacher a home in his declining years. Samuel Holden Parsons, born in Lyme, in 1737, inherited the strong intellectual and moral qualities of both his parents, was graduated from Harvard in 1756, studied law with his uncle, Governor Matthew Griswold, was admitted to the bar in 1759, and settled as a lawyer in Lyme. He entered at once upon important civil service, was in the state legislature eighteen sessions, was an influential member engaged in supporting many measures of interest to the commonwealth, and in adjusting difficulties with the adjoining states. He originated the plan of forming the first Congress which prepared the way for organizing the Continental Congress. In 1773 he removed to New London, and was a member of the revolutionary committee of correspondence. During these years of active civil life he had turned his attention somewhat to military affairs, and "on 26th April, 1775, was appointed colonel of the Sixth Regiment,

* Beginning with October issue, 1883, Vol. IX., page 327.

stationed at Roxbury, Massachusetts, until the British evacuated Boston, and was then ordered to New York."

Having obtained from Benedict Arnold an account of the condition of Ticonderoga, he projected the plan for the capture of that fort, and without consulting the civil authorities of Connecticut, obtained money from her treasury to defray the expenses of the expedition on his own receipt, called Ethan Allen with New Hampshire recruits to his aid, was strengthened by volunteers from Berkshire, Massachusetts, and actually captured the fortress. He participated in the battle of Long Island in 1776, was made a brigadier-general for gallant service, served at Harlem Heights and White Plains, and was stationed at Peekskill to protect the important posts on the North River. "He planned the expedition to Sag Harbor and reinforced Washington in New Jersey." He commanded the troops in the Highlands in 1778-79, when General Rufus Putnam constructed the fortifications at West Point. He prevented the incursion of the British into Connecticut; was one of the board that tried Major John André; was commissioned as major-general in 1780; succeeded General Israel Putnam, and served until the close of the war. During all this period he commanded the entire confidence of Washington, was in constant correspondence with him, and co-operated with all his military operations in and around New York.

Colonel Humphreys, the scholar and poet of the American army, the brave soldier, the favorite and confidential friend of Washington, in his poem on *The Happiness of America*, says of Parsons:

" I too
Shall tell from whom I learnt the martial art,
With what high chiefs I played my early part,
With Parsons first, whose eye, with piercing ken,
Reads through their hearts, the characters of men."

At the close of the war General Parsons resumed the practice of law at Middletown, Connecticut; was appointed by Congress a commissioner to treat with the Miami Indians in 1785; was an active member of the state constitutional convention in 1788, and the same year was appointed by Washington the first judge of the Northwest Territory. He was an active and efficient member of the Ohio company, and joined Rev. Manassah Cutler and Rufus Putnam in organizing the settlement at Marietta. For all this long life of civil and military service he was deemed worthy of an elaborate sketch in "Hildreth's Pioneers of Ohio;" was counted among the wise leaders of the colony in the oration which I delivered at Marietta

on the ninety-fifth anniversary of the settlement of Ohio, as "a son of a most learned and pious minister of Massachusetts, the sagacious companion of Washington, one of the first and ablest of this state of his adoption;" and he was eulogized by the Hon. George P. Hoar in his Centennial oration at the same place the present year, who spoke of him as "soldier, scholar, judge, one of the strongest arms on which Washington leaned, who first suggested the Continental Congress, from the story of whose life could almost be written the history of the northern war."

Of this American soldier, jurist and statesman, who has been considered worthy of such honorable record for nearly a century, the *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, lately issued, says, quoting from the "Secret Intelligence" published in your magazine as before-mentioned: "It has recently been discovered in a letter that is preserved in the manuscript volume of Sir Henry Clinton's original record of daily intelligence, now in the library of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York city, that Gen. Parsons was in secret communication with Sir Henry Clinton, and that one William Heron, a representative from Fairfield in the Connecticut legislature, was the intermediary to whom Parsons wrote letters, which with the knowledge of their author were sent to the enemy's headquarters. Under date of 8th July, 1781, he wrote: 'The five regiments of our states are more than 1,200 men deficient of their complement, the other states (except Rhode Island and New York who are fuller) are nearly in the same condition. Our magazines are few in number. Your fears for them are groundless. They are principally at West Point, Fishkill, Wapping Creek and Newburg, which puts them out of the enemy's power, except they attempt their destruction by a force sufficient to secure the Highlands, which they cannot do, our guards being sufficient to secure them from small parties. The French troops encamped yesterday on our left, near the Tuckeyhoe road. Their number I have not had an opportunity to ascertain. Other matters of information I shall be able to give you in a few days.' This letter was sent by Heron to Major Oliver De Lancey, to whom Heron wrote that he had concerted measures with Parsons by which he would receive every material article of intelligence from the American camp. Parsons's treason is also corroborated by Revolutionary papers of Major John Kissam of the British army."

And Winsor, in his *Narrative and Critical History of the United States*, speaks of Parsons in a footnote as "A Spy for the British army." The letter to Heron upon which the charge of treason against General Parsons is made to hang, is the conclusion of a long list of letters written by Heron to Sir Henry Clinton, and is capable of two interpretations. Had it been

written to Washington it would have been received as a friendly communication stating the weakness of both sides, the American and the English—and of no great value as an account of either. On its very face it bears this interpretation. But Heron, after repeated promises that he could enlist Gen. Parsons in the British cause against his own country, offers this letter to the enemy as a contribution of Parsons to the British commander, written as to a "confidential friend" in order to disguise its purpose. Heron had promised for six months to enlist Parsons as an English ally, and his promise had not been fulfilled, and so, on July 15, 1781, he wrote to Major De Lancey announcing that "our friend" (Parsons) was ready to convey all intelligence in accordance with a conversation between himself (Heron) and De Lancey in form of "queries and answers," April 25th, and states that Parsons would write to a "confidential friend" who could use the information as he pleased. The queries were: 1. The state of the army. 2. The state of the French. 3. How each army is situated. 4. What enterprises they mean to undertake. 5. What supplies, and whence do they expect to subsist. 6. Where the magazines and how to be destroyed. 7. The movement of the French fleet and their intentions. 8. News from the southward of consequence. 9. Situation of the different posts. 10. News from Europe. 11. The hopes of the ensuing campaign. All of which Heron answers with great caution. And in order to prove Parsons's fidelity Heron announced his (Parsons's) desire to obtain a place for his son in the British navy. Heron says also, that he (Heron) came under the sanction of a commission from Governor Trumbull to cruise in the Sound, and that he entered upon the expedition "purely to draw in our friend," who was not *drawn in* after six months of Heron's efforts and written promises to Clinton. In this letter Heron inclosed Parsons's letter of July 8th to himself, which the *Cyclopædia* publishes as proof of Parsons's disloyalty!

The letter from Lieutenant-Colonel De Wunub to Major Kissam, April 23, 1781, also referred to in the *Cyclopædia*, is as follows: "Sir: I enclose a passport for Mr. Heron and should wish for his return to Stamford whenever the wind will permit it. I have not yet received answer from New York, but as soon as those things wanted by General Parsons shall arrive I will forward them to the General by another flag. I have the honor to be &c
DE WUNUB."

We are not informed what "those things" were, nor is there any further reference to them. The correspondence between Heron and Sir Henry Clinton and Oliver De Lancey, which ended with the letter of Heron,

July 15, 1781, commenced September 21, 1780, in a letter written to Clinton, giving an account of affairs in America, and setting forth the value of his extraordinary opportunities for observing the condition of those affairs.

February 4, 1781, Heron wrote again to Sir Henry Clinton an account of the Convention in Hartford to found a coalition between the Eastern and York Counties, stating what Parsons and Stark represented to him with regard to the wretched condition of the American army, and the small number of the troops in the Highlands; and cautioning Clinton against those who would deceive him, at the same time repeating that he had special chances for knowing the secrets of the cabinet.

Heron's statement of the opinion of Parsons and Stark with regard to the condition of the American army is merely a repetition of what Parsons had already reported to Washington. March 11, 1781, Heron writes: "General Parsons' aid-de-camp whose name is Lawrence is soliciting leave to come in to see his mother. He thinks it is in our power to tamper with him, and that from Parsons' mercenary disposition there is little doubt of success."

April 24, 1781, Heron wrote again to Major De Lancey setting forth elaborately his delicate negotiations with Parsons, in which he had informed him of an interview with a New York gentleman in which Parsons was highly complimented. He added that Parsons listened with uncommon attention, and considered that it might be best that he should resign his commission in the American army in order to give greater effect to his services for Clinton. Heron continues his letter by stating: "I have been necessitated to use all this circumlocution in order to convince him of the delicacy observed in making the above propositions, and that nothing was intended inconsistent with the purest principles of honor." Heron desired also "to secure himself a retreat" should the matter be "disagreeable to Parsons."

The next morning Heron "renewed his conversation" with General Parsons, and he adds: "I shall be in situation this summer (I hope) to render essential service, having carried my election against Judge Sanford who is of one of the first families in the place."

A note to this letter, made by De Lancey, gives a memorandum of the points Heron promises to get from General Parsons, such as the exact state of West Point; what troops; what magazines; who commands.

"Hiram" (Heron) is to let Sir Henry know what Parsons' wish is and "how we can serve him." He "makes no doubt of bringing Parsons to do what we wish."

About this time Heron wrote an account of the route taken by the

French troops, which he said he had thus early from General Parsons, "who had it from the French officers." June 17, 1781, Heron wrote that General Parsons assisted him in reaching New York at that time, and concerted measures for their future conduct with regard to conveying such intelligence as might come to his knowledge, but he (Heron) expresses still a doubt as to how far "intriguing persons" could be relied on; adding "I find the gentleman in question will not say he will go such length as I could wish,"—meaning General Parsons. July 15, 1781, Heron wrote the letter already quoted which he used as a vehicle for conveying the letter of a "confidential friend," the form in which according to agreement with Sir Henry Clinton information was hereafter to be conveyed to him by Heron, as suggested in the communication of June 17th.

In this correspondence which had continued with some regularity for six months, from February 9 to July 15, with the one exception of Sept. 21, 1780, Heron appears as a spy and an informer, whether for Gen. Parsons or for Sir Henry Clinton, contemporaneous events and correspondence alone can show. That he was not a sympathizer with the American cause was well known. Todd in the *History of Redding* says of him: "In the revolution he sided with the king, and was the recognized leader of the tories of Redding Ridge. At the time of Pryor's invasion he openly gave aid and comfort to the enemy." He is recorded as an "enemy of the Declaration of Independence." At the same time he was a member of the Connecticut legislature in 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, from 1784 to 1790, and in 1795 and 1796. "His position brought him in personal relations with the leading men of Connecticut, and he was in full correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton." "He stands well," says General Robertson of the British army, "with the officers of the Continental army—with General Parsons he is intimate, and is not suspected." So far as Sir Henry Clinton is concerned the value of his services was exceedingly small. The facts he furnished with regard to the American army were few and well known to all. He never succeeded in committing General Parsons to the enemy, on the contrary when asked by Major De Lancey, January 20, 1781, "Is it your opinion that General Parsons will enter so heartily as to make us hope he will take an open and determined stand in our favor?" he replies, "It is my opinion that he does not wish to take an open and above board part at present." Heron records no treasonable act of Parsons, and the only communication he secured from him was the "confidential friend" letter which might or might not have been intended for the eye of Sir Henry Clinton.

There is abundant evidence, however, that Heron was acting as a spy and informer for General Parsons and the Commander-in-Chief of the Amer-

ican army, who were constantly using the information secured by American spies. Washington, through Captain Walker, one of his agents, was informed that great numbers from Connecticut "are removing to the state of Vermont," which was a place of refuge; and he wrote to General Parsons, 22d February, 1781: "Your knowledge of the country and character of the people will enable you best to conduct the investigation, and as you live in one of the counties where it seems to originate you may do it with less risk of suspicion. I have therefore to request that you will undertake the affair, and in the manner you think most likely to succeed, and will set out about it immediately. The person who will serve you as a spy must be assured of some generous compensation, such as would be an object to his family and secure his fidelity."

In his reply to this letter from Washington, dated March 14, 1781, General Parsons sets forth elaborately the state of the case to which Washington refers. He believes an association is formed to submit to the British government; that the number of associates is daily increasing; that their names are transmitted to New York as often as opportunity presents; that persons are employed to enlist these men; that regular stages of intelligence are established from the shores through the country to Canada; that dispatches have lately gone through these channels to Vermont. He thinks it will be difficult to detect the plan in its extent. He enlarges upon the extent and danger of the conspiracy, and upon the fact that great numbers in many towns are supplying the enemy with provisions, and are demoralizing the young men about them; suggesting that it is difficult to deal with the evil which has taken so deep root. He informs Washington that the state has passed stringent laws against all who come into the state for plunder, and asks how he shall proceed under the circumstances. He concludes his letter as follows: "The spy employed among them has assurances of generous pay for all the time he employs and expenses incurred in the service, or a handsome gratuity when he has done what he can, to be settled in some more secure place if he is detected and obliged to fly from his present settlement (which will be the case if he is discovered), and if he succeeds in discovering the full extent of the plan, so that the concerned may be detected and it shall prove to be as extensive as is supposed he shall be gratified with an annuity of one hundred dollars per annum for life, as a reward for his services. I believe him faithful and industrious in making discoveries necessary."

On April 20, 1781, Parsons wrote to Washington: "The person on whom our principal dependence is placed has been very faithful, and employed almost the whole time in the service, and been at considerable

expense, which by reason of his indigent circumstances he is unable to support. I must, therefore, beg your Excellency to order him to be paid." It is altogether probable that these communications referred to Heron, of whom he wrote the following letter to General Washington, dated Danbury, Connecticut, 6th April, 1782:

"Dear General: When I was last with you I forgot to mention the name of Mr. William Heron, of Redding, who has for several years had opportunities of informing himself of the state of the enemy, their designs and intentions, with more certainty and precision than most men who have been employed. As I have now left service, I think it my duty to inform Your Excellency of this person, and my reasons for believing him more capable of rendering service that way than most people are, that he may be employed if necessary. He is a native of Ireland, a man of very large knowledge, and a great share of natural sagacity, united with a sound judgment, but *of as unmeaning a countenance as any person in my acquaintance. With this appearance he is as little suspected as any man can be: an officer in the department of the adjutant-general is a countryman and very intimate acquaintance of Mr. Heron, through which channel he has been able frequently to obtain important and very interesting intelligence. That he has had access to some of their secrets a few facts will show beyond a doubt. Your Excellency will remember I informed you of the contents of a letter you wrote to Virginia, which was intercepted a year ago, but not published. This letter of his friend shows him of the descent made last year on New London. I was informed by him and made a written representation of it to the governor and council three days before it took place. This he had through the same channel. He has frequently brought me the most accurate descriptions of the posts occupied by the enemy, and more rational accounts of their numbers, strength, and designs than I have been able to obtain in any other way. As to his character, I know him to be a consistent national Whig; he is always in the field on every alarm and has in every trial proved himself a man of bravery; he has a family and a considerable interest in this state, and from the beginning of the war has invariably followed the measures of the country. I might add, as a circumstance of his fidelity, his delivering a letter from General Arnold to Major Andrè to me instead of leaving it where it was directed, which letter you have. In opposition to this his enemies suggest he carries on an illicit trade with the enemy; but I have lived two years the next door to him, and am fully convinced he has never had a single article of any kind for sale during that time, nor do I believe he was, in the most distant manner, connected with commerce at that time

or any subsequent period. I know many persons of more exalted character are also accused, none more than Governor Trumbull, nor with less reason. I believe the governor and Mr. Heron as clear of this business as I am, and I know myself to be totally free from every thing which has the least connection with that commerce. I think it my duty to give this full information of his character, that if you should think it expedient to employ him you might have some knowledge of the man, that you might be better able to satisfy yourself, if you should send for him. I believe, on conversation, he would give you entire satisfaction. I am, dear General, with the highest esteem,

Your Excellency's ob't serv't,

SAMUEL H. PARSONS."

It is safe to assume that Heron was a professional spy, and was looked on by Parsons as such. There is no doubt that through him the governor of Connecticut knew of Arnold's expedition three days before it took place. And nowhere do we find that Parsons suspected him of treasonable designs. Heron may have been opposed to the doctrines on which the Revolutionary War was fought; but we find him engaged in the civil service of the state, and we may safely class his inconsistencies with the methods adopted by spies in transacting their business. His recorded treason is capable of this interpretation; his alleged treasonable acts are matters of tradition. Todd says: "*The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut* informs us that the Redding Association of Loyalists was a strong body, whose secret influence was felt throughout the mission of the venerable pastor." The pastor was the Rev. John Beach, an Episcopal minister of great power, who was settled at Redding Ridge, and who "declared that he would do his duty, preach, and pray for the king till the rebels cut his tongue out." Heron belonged to this church. But we should remember that while, in the town of Redding, Hawes and Hirlehigh and Hall and Kane and Kellogg and Lacy and Lane and Lyon and Maurow and Captain Morgan and Perry and the six Platts and Robbins and Seymour and Turner, most of whom were Episcopalians, and all of whom were loyalists, were banished and their estates confiscated, Heron remained in civil service throughout the war, and retained the confidence and regard of the American officers. Among the Trumbull papers has been found a significant letter of Heron to Parsons, which throws additional light on their relation to each other, and on the status of General Parsons. Heron writes, January 5, 1781, to Parsons that one McNeill had written him from New York that he had almost closed the settlement

of the late Mr. Thompson's estate, and was ready to pay him a sum due him, in compliance with a charge of Thompson on his death-bed. He urges his need of money, and wants a flag of truce to get to New York. March 4, 1782, Heron writes to Sir Henry Clinton a long letter discussing the condition of the American army of the states, closing as follows: "I have kept General P——s in a tolerable frame of mind since I had the pleasure of seeing you last, and although he was somewhat chagrined when I returned from this place in October, yet I am convinced that in endeavoring to serve you he has (since) rendered himself in some measure unpopular. As you very well remember, I acquainted you with this man's prevailing disposition and temper, and observed that although I believed him a rank Republican in principle, yet he was capable of serving you from other motives." . . . This letter will be found in full in the department of "Original Documents," in another part of this number of the *Magazine of American History*.

The career of Heron, inconsistent as it may appear, is entirely in accordance with that of many men employed in the same service during the Revolutionary war. The confusion of that period can hardly be overstated. The skirmishing battles, the skillful retreats, the endeavors to mislead, the pertinacious courage and defiance of the patriots, the widespread devotion to the king, the indecision of Congress, the worse than indecision of the state legislatures, the discontents and desertions of the army, the suffering of the soldiers starving in the midst of plenty, the desperate system of espionage made tragic by the fate of Hale and Palmer and André, all combined to render any account of many of the events doubtful, and any fair interpretation of them extremely difficult. It may seem that such espionage as Heron practiced is impossible; but even the vivid imagination of Cooper has not overdrawn the picture, in his delineation of Harvey Birch in *The Spy*. This creation of the fancy was based upon a reality. During the war, the "royal cause" gained such preponderance that a secret committee was appointed by Congress for the express purpose of defeating the object of its supporters. In the discharge of the novel duties which devolved on the committee, John Jay the chairman "had occasion," Cooper tells us, in the introduction to *The Spy*, "to employ an agent whose services differed but little from those of a common spy." . . . It was his office to learn in what part of the country the agents of the crown were making their efforts to embody men, to repair to the place, enlist, appear zealous in the cause he affected to serve, and otherwise to get possession of as many of the secrets of the enemy as possible." He was often arrested, but "was permitted to escape; and this seeming, and

indeed actual peril was of great aid in supporting his assumed character among the English. By the Americans, in his little sphere, he was denounced as a bold and inveterate Tory. In this manner he continued to serve his country in secret during the early years of the struggle, hourly envired by danger and the constant subject of unmerited opprobrium."

The story of Elisha H——, so well told by Cooper in a foot-note of *The Spy*, is familiar to every reader of that thrilling tale. "This person was employed by Washington as one of his most confidential spies. . . . He was allowed to enter into the service of Sir Henry Clinton, . . . and he was often entrusted by Washington with minor military movements, in order that he might enhance his value with the English general, by communicating them." In this capacity he ascertained the form and destination of a detachment ordered on an expedition against the town of Bedford, in Westchester County. This he succeeded in communicating to Washington by a note signed with his own initials, E. H., and forwarded by courier, while he remained in New York. The communication, however, was too late; Bedford was taken; the commandant was killed; and the note of E. H. was found on his person. The next day being confronted with the note by Sir Henry Clinton, and asked if he knew the handwriting and who E. H. was, he replied with the quiet and sudden audacity of an accomplished spy of those days: "It is Elisha Hadden, the spy you hanged yesterday at Powles Hook." Sir Henry Clinton allowed him to quit his presence and he never saw him afterward.

Espionage in war is considered an imperative necessity; but the risk run by employing it cannot be overestimated, both as regards the fate of the spy and the reputation of his employer. It was by this means that Washington kept himself well-informed of the secret designs of British commanders. His spies, unknown to each other, were stationed at every point in New York. They were usually on terms of intimacy with the British officers and were enabled to obtain their information from the most reliable sources. And had their correspondence been preserved it is altogether probable that many of them would enjoy a reputation as doubtful as that which Sir Henry Clinton's record of secret correspondence has secured for Heron.

In order to judge of the connection of General Parsons with the correspondence of Heron, it becomes necessary to ascertain the course he was pursuing as an officer while the correspondence was going on. Of his services in the army prior to this time it is unnecessary to speak. He was known throughout the country as a faithful and devoted supporter

of the patriot cause on the field and in council. Of his services during the six months, from January to July, 1781, we fortunately have a record, not hitherto published, but found largely in his unpublished letters to Washington, filed in the State Department. The part he performed in the events of the six months preceding the correspondence, and during the period in which Heron's letters were written, is well known to have been efficient and honorable. In July, 1780, the French army and navy arrived in Newport, and increased the responsibilities and duties of the American army around New York. The campaign was inspired with new vigor; and as the activity increased the difficulties seemed to increase also. Arnold's treason and André's execution as a spy intensified the anxiety of the Americans, and exasperated the British. As the year 1781 opened mutiny among the Pennsylvania troops broke out in Morristown and threatened the destruction of that town. Six hundred troops were taken from the Highlands and under the command of General Howe were marched to New Jersey to quell an insurrection in the American forces there. The powers of Congress were found to be doubtful and inefficient. Of the condition of the army at this time Washington wrote, "Instead of having everything in readiness to take the field we have nothing; and, instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and defensive one, unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships, land, troops and money from our generous allies, and these at present are too contingent to build upon." On the soil of Connecticut, at Weathersfield, May 23d, a conference took place between the American and French commanders, from which Washington issued a circular letter to the governors of the Eastern states, making an urgent call for reinforcements—an appeal received with great indifference. The invasion of Connecticut and the burning of New London by Arnold gave a local importance to the trying events which oppressed the country at this time. It was under these circumstances that Heron professed to be able to deliver General Parsons into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton, according to the recently discovered correspondence. At a time when the united French and American forces were preparing to make an attack on New York with every prospect of success, an undertaking which was abandoned by Washington on the arrival of the French forces in the Chesapeake, by the aid of which Cornwallis was overpowered; at a time when the clouds began to break and treason was especially odious, and every sentiment of patriotism was roused, General Parsons, who was just appointed by the governor of Connecticut to command the state troops, is charged with holding treasonable correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton.

Of his conduct and his opinions at that time his letters to Washington furnish a complete record—a record as I think of entire vindication.

The spirit of General Parsons is so well illustrated by a correspondence between himself and Tryon a year before the Heron letters commenced, September 7, 1779, that I am inclined to introduce it here as preliminary to the more important and direct letters to which I have referred. On June 15, 1779, Tryon wrote to General Putnam and General Parsons advising them to make no attempt to prevent a "reunion with the parent state." On September 7, 1779, Parsons, whom Hollister calls "one of the bravest and most accomplished officers of the Revolutionary era," replied, denouncing Tryon's conduct "in the defenseless towns of Connecticut," reminding him of the declaration of war against England by France, of the English disasters in the West Indies, of the storming of Stony Point, of the surprise of Paulus Hook by Major Lee, of the flight of General Provost from Carolina, and closing: "Surely it is time for Britons to rouse from their delusive dream of conquest and pursue such systems of future conduct as will save their tottering empire from total destruction." In July, 1779, Washington had directed Parsons to hasten to check Tryon and to guide the efforts of the people to stop him. This service he performed with great energy and skill, with the small force of only 150 contingent troops harassed and opposed Tryon with his well-organized body of 2,600. On January 31, 1781, just at the time when Heron was in active correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, Washington forwarded to Congress two reports of Major-General Parsons and Lieutenant-General Hull respecting an enterprise against De Lancey's corps at West Chester, in which, with small loss on the American side, the barracks of the corps were destroyed, and prisoners, cattle, and horses were brought off and a bridge burned. "General Parsons' arrangements were judicious," wrote Washington, "and the conduct of the officers and men entitled to the highest praise."

The following letters, of which I give in many instances abstracts, cover the entire period of the Heron correspondence, commencing in fact a month before any part of that correspondence appears: August 15, 1780, General Parsons writes to General Arnold requesting an order for Canfield to remove his troops to Horseneck—in great need. August 2, 1780, he writes a long and important letter from Danbury to Washington stating the disposition of the troops and the recruits, and adding that the general assembly would undoubtedly at its session next week furnish more men. He also gives some valuable information just received with regard to the movements of the enemy on Long Island, and Sir Henry Clinton's expla-

nation of the condition of affairs with his own troops; and also with regard to where transports were taking provisions. August 25, 1780, he writes to Arnold that one Walter, a seaman, can obtain valuable information with regard to the enemy in New York, and he can be relied on. Asks Arnold for orders to him to procure a boat and form a regular course of intelligence by the way of Long Island to New York, by which he may get weekly intelligence. This he will undertake for "some certain pay in Continental money." August 25, 1780, he writes to Arnold with regard to Thomas Osborne, who had been condemned as a spy, and advises that he be held until the statements he has made inculcating many persons more important than himself be investigated. September 4, 1780, he writes to Arnold asking permission to join his brigade, stating that the volunteers were ready, and asking that the conduct of Captain Sill of Colonel Warner's regiment be inquired into. September 5, 1780, he writes to Arnold setting forth the effect of Osborne's confinement as good. He proceeds to criticise Congress, and says: "The cause of my country I will never forsake; 'tis a just and glorious cause. The virtues of our General will ever attach us to his fortunes. But the wretches who have crept into Congress are almost below contempt; our country will never prosper in their hands. They will starve us in the midst of plenty. To deny us very obvious justice, and to insult us when we require it, is left only for politicians of the new world. My hand shall be added to any representation my brethren agree to make. I think the insult should not be passed over in silence." October 4, 1780, he writes to Washington approving of Smallwood's promotion, but complaining that he himself had been unjustly neglected, having served four years, and half the time commanded a division of the army. "Had the same principles actuated the councils of our states as have been the rules of proceedings in other nations, I should have had the rank due to the command long since conferred upon me." October 5, 1780, "Camp," he writes to Washington, asking leave to return to his family on account of sickness, and suggests that he be appointed on his return "to the command of the troops near New Castle and Horse-neck until their service shall expire, which I imagine will nearly end my own." November 12, 1780, "Redding," he writes to Washington thanking him for promotion and proposing to adjust his private affairs so that he could join the army again, and sending an act of the legislature of Connecticut for filling the army, "which if executed with spirit I hope will have the desired success." November 20, 1780, "Redding," writes to Washington that he has had a return of fever and ague, but will return to the army as soon as possible. December 25, 1780, "Fishkill," he writes to

Washington asking that Lieutenants Grant and Cook, taken prisoners at Fort Washington, be restored to rank and pay as if not captured. January 10, 1781, "Camp in the Highlands," he writes asking that a garrison of Virginia or Massachusetts or Maryland or New Hampshire troops be sent to Wyoming, and not Pennsylvania troops, of whom New England settlers were jealous. January 12, 1781, "Camp Highlands," he writes to Washington: "Dear General: The instances of firmness in the Connecticut line exhibited among the privates since I had the honor of seeing you fully convinces me of the justice of my observations yesterday on that subject; and I believe the same spirit pervades the whole of the line. In two instances application was made this morning for furloughs. The men, privates, who had been three years absent were informed that in the defection of the Pennsylvania line they would be required to reduce them to their duty; they answered without hesitation they had rather never see home than the cause of their country should suffer by such unjustifiable conduct, or your excellency should be in danger from that or any misconduct. They went back with great cheerfulness and said they would never apply again until they were brought to their duty. And in many instances the officers' servants have begged to be armed and permitted to go on this duty. From these circumstances and other observations I am convinced the fullest confidence may in this instance be placed in the Connecticut troops."

The above letter was written only a short time before Heron wrote to Sir Henry Clinton insinuations against Parsons and Stark. January 23, 1781, "Horseneck," Parsons writes to Washington of his success in the expedition to "Sawpitts," Horseneck; and January 26 of the difficulties of the expedition on account of snow and cold. March 31, '81, he writes to Governor Trumbull (a letter found among the Trumbull papers) stating the extensiveness of those concerned in supplying the enemy and in illicit commerce. He extends his examination to commerce by water as well as by land; and is astonished at the list of inhabitants of Greenwich, Stamford and Norwalk exposed by the examination. He gives a list of them; and asks how far he is to proceed in apprehending the persons named in the examination. March 3, 1781, Parsons in another letter to Governor Trumbull avows knowledge of constant intercommunication between the disaffected scattered from New York to Canada. He says he knows who conveys the intelligence. He states the objections to intermeddling to be a doubt how far force may be employed for the purpose of discovery, and says he is under the most solemn engagements not to disclose the names of spies. He alludes to some slanders against him because he had made

some similar disclosures the previous summer. April 20, 1781, he writes to Washington giving an account of his ill health and advising him that the operations of the disaffected have been brought to a stand, and urging the fitting out an expedition to Lloyd's Neck to cut off the enemy, and asks to command it. April 30, 1781, he writes of his "still very feeble health;" thinks a considerable check is put to the proceedings of the disaffected; says a report is confidentially circulated among them that the British government "have given assurances to Colonel Allen that the state of Vermont shall be made a separate province if the war terminates in their favor, and that he shall be appointed governor of the new province;" and concludes by a recommendation of the spy already quoted. May 2, 1781, writes to Washington that he has learned from New York that General Arnold was every hour expected there to take command of the expedition (into Connecticut). "Admiral Arbuthnot is going to England, his officers refusing to serve with him." Admiral Graves, who commands the fleet, was in New York Saturday, but expects to sail in a few days. Five ships of the line are in the East River, the rest in North River. The fleet with provisions had arrived without loss, and the enemy are in high spirits. "Great dependence is placed on the defection of Vermont; they say their measures are fully secured there, and that an army may be expected from Canada soon." (No doubt Heron furnished him this information.) June 26, 1781, "Peekskill." Parsons writes to Washington of the disaffection of Connecticut troops on account of the failure of the state and the nation to pay them. He writes "by request." July 10, 1781, "Camp, Peekskill," he writes stating the terms on which the officers expect to be paid. July 10, 1781, "Camp near Dobb's Ferry," he writes urging again the paying of the Connecticut troops, and says: "Every other state has done much toward satisfying the just demands of the troops, and Connecticut, the best able of any state in the Union, has done nothing." July 28, 1781, he writes that the inhabitants in the rear of the army are connected with the refugees who are on the road, and who are acting the part of robbers, and suggests a remedy.

Autograph letters of General Parsons written at this period have recently been sold in Boston by Libbie & Co., exhibiting the same spirit as these I have presented. They are not addressed, but the dates of all are preserved. January 1, 1781, he writes from Camp Highland, congratulating a friend on his release and marriage, and giving him notice that he would be called soon into service. April 9, 1778, he writes to his correspondent, "please to present my compliments to your fellow-prisoners and that obstinate tory, Parson Walter, my old friend." May 3, 1781, he

wrote ordering the seizure of one Willard by a file of soldiers and denounced him as a villain. May 8, 1781, he wrote ordering the execution of one Rowland, and directing the prisoners to attend the execution. These letters written in 1781, of which this is the last, cover the entire period of the Heron correspondence. The next letter on the files was written May 17, 1782, and announces his retirement from the army on account of "extreme ill health."

To my mind these letters are conclusive with regard to the loyalty of General Parsons. They indicate a spirit of devotion to his country and they record acts in her service. They were evidently written by one who had the entire confidence of Washington—who was not deceived in his estimate of men, and whose suspicions of Parsons, had he been in long communication with the enemy, would have been roused as they were by the irregularities of Arnold. The spirit which produced these letters was accepted as the true spirit of Parsons throughout the war, and secured for him the confidence of his associate officers, Putnam and Frazer, and Scammell and Sherman, and Wolcott and Hull and Heath, and of the community in which he lived when the war had ended, and a place in the councils of Manasseh Cutler and Rufus Putnam when they entered upon their great work of settling the Northwest Territory.

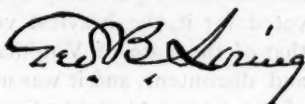
In the diary of Cutler we find General Parsons alluded to often. On March 8, 1787, at a meeting of the Ohio Company, held in Boston, General Samuel H. Parsons, General Rufus Putnam and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler were chosen directors to apply to Congress for the purchasing of lands. On March 16, 1787, Cutler writes to Nathan Dane: "General Parsons will make application to Congress in the name of the other directors in order to make the purchase for the company." On his journey to New York and Philadelphia he spent an evening with General Parsons, settled all matters relating to his business with Congress, and received many letters from the General to the members. On July 5, 1787, he was ready to support Parsons for governor, but found that General St. Clair had forestalled him, and consequently urged successfully his appointment as United States judge of the territory. On July 29, 1787, he records with evident satisfaction, "when I informed General Parsons of my negotiations with Congress, I had the pleasure to find not only that it met his approbation, but he expressed his astonishment that I had obtained terms so advantageous." On his way from New York to Boston, after the negotiation, he "dined with General Parsons." Sept. 18, 1787, he writes that Generals Parsons and Putnam "are to go with one hundred men to Ohio." On May 6, 1789, directors Parsons, Putnam and Griffin Green ordered Putnam and Cutler

to apply to Congress for additional purchases. In all the important business of the company, Parsons was constantly employed as a wise counselor and an honest agent and director.

It has been said of Parsons that "all who knew him had supposed that he was a poor man, and to the surprise of every one he had a large amount of ready money to invest in the lands of the company. This was the fifty thousand dollars that Clinton had given him for his services." In answer to this charge I am informed by Douglas Putnam, Esq., a most respectable and venerable citizen of Marietta: "I find in the list of the original proprietors in the Ohio Company's purchase the name of Parsons, Samuel H., as the proprietor of two shares, and Parsons, Samuel H., Parsons, W. W., and others, proprietors of three shares. In the division of the lands a share consisted of 1,173½ acres (in plots), of which the cost was understood to be \$1,000 in Continental money and \$10 specie." This disposes of the fifty thousand dollars charge.

In conclusion, I place over against Heron's reputation and record and occupation, the services and correspondence and civil and military associations of General Parsons, and rest on them his vindication and his title in our generation to the esteem and confidence he enjoyed in his own.

SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.



AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF JOHN ADAMS

WRITTEN TO CHARLES HOLT, EDITOR OF THE NEW LONDON BEE

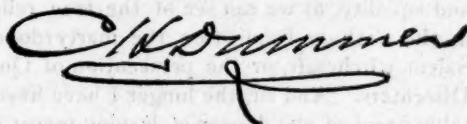
Charles Holt was born in New London, August 10th, 1772. In early manhood he was an earnest politician of democratic principles. The Democrats of that day were styled Republicans and the Whigs were the Federalists. In 1797 Holt established a newspaper called the *Bee*, which was published in New London, Connecticut, for three years, when he removed with it to Hudson, New York. This paper was a prominent organ of the Democratic party, and as such vigorously and sharply attacked the Federal party and its most prominent exponent, John Adams, President of the United States, during whose administration Congress passed, July 10, 1798, the obnoxious and unconstitutional "Alien and Sedition Act." This measure was most ably discussed in both houses of Congress, but was finally passed by a small majority. The northern members chiefly voted for it, the heaviest vote against it being from the south—notably that of the state of Virginia. Its enforcement created great excitement and discontent, and it was undoubtedly the cause of the final overthrow of the Adams administration.

The case that excited most attention was that of Hon. Matthew Lyon, member of Congress from Vermont, who was tried for writing and publishing letters that were adjudged to be seditious, found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of \$1,000, with imprisonment four months. He was taken fifty miles from his home and confined in a loathsome prison, without fire during the cold months of October and November. Upon his release he must have removed from Vermont, as in 1811 he appears in Congress as a representative from the state of Kentucky, and petitions for relief, asking the repayment of the fine imposed upon him, with interest to date. It was referred to a select committee, and the resolution referring it was amended by instructing the committee to inquire, "Whether any and what prosecutions have been instituted, &c., under the sedition law, or the common law, and by what authority, and to make such provision as they may deem necessary for securing the freedom of speech, and of the *press*." Here the whole matter seems to have been buried, but in June, 1844, Congress passed a law reimbursing all fines with interest to those who had suffered under the Act.

Charles Holt came also under the ban of the Adams party. An article appeared in his paper which was esteemed seditious; he was arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of \$200, and be imprisoned for six months.* This fine was also repaid to him some forty years afterwards with interest, and netted him a handsome sum. In later years, however, Mr. Holt saw fit to change his views, as the following correspondence between himself and ex-President John Adams reveals. In the reply of the venerable Adams to Mr. Holt, it will be observed that he asserts that in addition to numerous letters received from distinguished men all over the country acknowledging the wisdom and correctness of his views of popular representative government, he had also received one of similar import from ex-President Thomas Jefferson himself, the founder and principal exponent of democracy. The system of government finally adopted by the people of this country is practically that enunciated by Adams, and the wisdom of his views have since been demonstrated and his course vindicated.

These letters are now for the first time given to the public.

JERSEY CITY, N. J.



[THE LETTERS.]

Charles Holt to Ex-President John Adams :

NEW YORK, August 27, 1820.

Venerable Sir :

It will possibly amuse a few of the leisure moments of your latter years to receive an act of political justice and literary homage, not the less to be valued as it is late in offering when accompanied with my sincere regret that it has not been tendered before. Twenty years ago sir, I was the editor of a party newspaper in Connecticut (*The Bee*) and was

* Mr. Holt afterwards removed to New York city, and published the *Columbian*, at 65 Pine Street. This was in November, 1809. During the Jackson Administration Mr. Holt received an appointment in the New York Custom House. In 1832 he removed to Jersey City to escape the yellow fever then raging in New York. Upon the subsidence of the plague he returned to New York, but towards the close of his life he returned to Jersey City and resided with his son-in-law, Hon. P. C. Dummer, where he died in July, 1852, aged eighty years. He was buried in the Jersey City and Harsimus Cemetery at the brow of the hill, alongside of the old Post Road to Philadelphia, now Newark avenue. The originals of this interesting correspondence are now in possession of his grandson, Charles Holt Dummer, Esq.

imprisoned under the sedition law for a publication adjudged to be libelous in the politics of that day. I then wrote and published much against you sir, as an aristocrat in principle, a royalist at heart, no friend to the "rights of man" and hostile to the Republicanism of the United States. I had not read your defense of the American Constitution, nor much of any political history, and but very little in the book of living experience. But sir, I have since, although publisher of a political Gazette sixteen years after, seen and felt abundant cause for discarding the impressions I then entertained, and adopting opinions gathered from all observation and confirmed by all experience, I have truly and literally seen "Republicanism" made to mean anything or nothing and the cloke for persecution, injustice and despotism, as cruel, ferocious and arbitrary as ever disgraced the annals of the first European settlers among the Indians in South (or North) America, the records of the French Revolution or the histories of despots in every age and part of the world, from ancient savage barbarity to modern European refinement. And I have perceived as little regard to equal right, paid by the unchecked "sovereign people" under the garb of liberty and equality, as we can see of the true religion of nature and the Gospel in the Catholic Inquisition, the martyrdoms of Smithfield, the scenes of Salem witchcraft, or the persecution of Quakers, free thinkers and other Dissenters. And sir, the longer I have lived I have seen the more indubitable proof of the danger of leaving power in the hands of the people for unrestrained exercise. Little different from the law of force between the strong and the weak would be the right of unbridled majorities to govern instantér; from the Tarpeian Rock and guillotine there is no return, no remedy, more than from the knife or pistol of the assassin. Extremes in nature equal ends produce, attraction and repulsion preserve the equilibrium in the works of nature. And in mechanics and politics by the universal law, from the balance-wheel of a watch, the pendulum of a clock and fly wheel of a steam engine, to the organization of a criminal court by grand and petit juries, and the government of a state or empire by a division of powers into legislative, judicial and executive branches and the additional security of a two fold legislature with constitutional checks and delays in passing laws, I am convinced that no machine, no apparatus, no combination of powers can operate well and safely without regulation by checks and balances, but would, if left to unrestrained motion, inevitably destroy itself. The good sense of our fellow citizens, in most if not all of the American Constitutions has secured to the people the benefit of your theory, improved from the British system, and established such guards and preventives against both anarchy and despotism as I trust will long

present to the world more perfect moods and happy spectacles of a nicely balanced and well regulated state than are to be found in the warm imaginations of the most benevolent theorist, or the real history of all the republics which Greece or Rome, Europe or Asia ancient and modern has furnished. But sir, I am forgetting my respect in trespassing upon your time. I intended an allusion to the claim for "universal suffrage" so called by modern demagogues, to break down all distinction in the elective franchise, and give the owners of the land with all the property of the country no more right, or rights than men without property or interest in it—a leveling and truly unjust and unequal principle I have ever viewed with as pointed disapprobation as an agrarian law or the abolition of all law together. Having, however, far exceeded my designed limits, I will add nothing further than to ask your indulgence if any further apology be deemed necessary for addressing you and to assure you that I have long been, and now am, with increased consideration, and the most sincere respect, your very obedient and humble servant.

(signed) CHAS. HOLT.

To Hon. John Adams.

Ex-President John Adams to Charles Holt:

MONTEZILLO, September 4th, 1820.

Sir:

The universal vanity of human nature must have obtruded itself on your observation in the course of your experience so forcibly that you will easily believe that your letter of August 27th has been received and read with much pleasure. Besides you know that the just always rejoices over every sinner that repenteth. Your letter however did not surprise me because I had received many such testimonials from other persons. For example, Mr. Matthew Carey has in letters to me, acknowledged the same error; and has lately repeated to me in person, in conversation, and moreover has repeatedly printed handsome encomiums on my Defense of the American Constitution, which he had many years vilified before he had read it. And what is more agreeably surprising to me—Judge Cooper, the learned and ingenious friend of Dr. Priestly, has lately published in the Port Folio a very handsome eulogium on that work. And what perhaps will be considered more than all, the learned and scientific President Jefferson has in letters to me acknowledged that I was right, and that he was wrong.

My plain writings have been misunderstood by many, misrepresented

by more, and vilified and anathematized by multitudes, who never read them. They have indeed nothing to recommend them but stubborn facts, and simple principles and irresistible inferences from them, without any accommodations from ambitious ornaments of style, or studied artifices of arrangement. Notwithstanding all which, amidst all the calumnies they have occasioned, I have the consolation to know, and the injustice I have suffered ought to excuse me in saying, that they have been translated into the French, German and Spanish languages. That they are now contributing to introduce representative governments into various nations of Europe, as they have before contributed to the introduction and establishment of our American Constitution, both of the individual states and the nation at large, and they are now employed, and have been a long time in assisting the South Americans in establishing their liberties from the days of Miranda to this hour. I may say with Lord Bacon, that I bequeath my writings to foreign nations, and to my own country after a few generations shall be overpast.

This letter has so much the appearance of vanity that I pray you not to publish it in print—though Calumny with her hundred cat a nine tales has lashed me so long that my skin has become almost as hard and insensible as steel, and her severest strokes would scarcely be felt. After all I sincerely thank you for your frank and candid letter, which does you much honor, and is a full atonement for all your errors in relation to me, who am, sir, your sincere well wisher and most humble servant.

(signed) JOHN ADAMS.

To Charles Holt, Esq.

A BOSTON NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTION, 1778

Through the favor of Mrs. Mary E. H. Stebbins, well known in the literary world fifty years ago as Mary E. Hewett, author of a volume of poems, now over eighty years of age, I have in my possession a Revolutionary relic of curious interest, a newspaper with the significant heading "*The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser*, Thursday, June 11, 1778. Massachusetts State, Boston: Printed by Powars and Willis, opposite the new Court House." In a fancy border, separating this heading in the centre, stands the figure of a soldier holding in his right hand a drawn sword, in his left a scroll inscribed "Independence," and over his head another scroll with the words, "Appeal to Heaven." The texture of the paper, now of a yellowish tint, is coarse, its edges ragged, and its columns—three to a page—are separated by double rules.

Over two columns of the first page are filled with an unsigned letter earnestly advocating unrestricted free trade. Two or three sentences will show its tenor: "How many general and particular manufactures have been established and brought to perfection, by liberty alone, each having been carried on in its own right. . . . How many things are now carried on with tolerable success, merely from hitherto escaping a pretended legislative *police*, which, instead of advancing, retards the progress of industry and improvement. . . . Indeed, the removal of obstacles is all that is necessary for the success of trade. . . . It is reported of the great Colbert, Prime Minister of Henry IV. of France, that when he convened the several deputies of commerce at his house, and asked what he could do for the benefit of trade, the most sensible and plainest spoken man among them replied in these three words, 'Let us alone.'"

The next article, entitled "The Independent Whig No. 1." completes the first page, and (skipping the second and third) fills over a column of the fourth. The writer had "seen in a late Philadelphia paper a speech of the British minister in the House of Commons, introducing two bills relating to the American dispute, of a conciliatory complexion," and makes a vigorous protest against listening for a moment to any terms of settlement short of perfect independence. "A moderate exertion (he says) of good sense, perseverance and vigor, will soon put us in possession of the object of our wishes. The most sanguine of our enemies must now

be convinced that the phantom of military conquest has vanished, and the ministry of Great Britain are making their last effort of despairing impotence."

Next, we have a Proclamation "Given at York, in the State of Pennsylvania, this Ninth Day of May, Anno Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Eight." The preamble states "that violences have been done by American armed vessels to neutral nations in seizing ships belonging to their subjects under their colours, and in making captures of those of the enemy whilst under the protection of neutral coasts contrary to the usage and custom of nations;" and this is followed by a solemn warning, under threat of condign punishment, against the commission of "such unjustifiable and piratical acts, which reflect dishonour upon the national character of these states."

Following this are "Extracts of the Minutes," with the resolution, recommending "to the Legislatures of the respective States to enact Laws for exempting from Military Duty all Persons who have deserted, or shall hereafter desert from the *British* Army and Navy during the present War," &c. Henry Laurens, president, and Charles Thomson, secretary, sign the proceedings.

News had been received from Georgia of the capture, "by Col. Elbert and Col. White, in the Washington and Lee Gallies of the State, joined by the Bullock Gally," of several vessels "belonging to the King of England." The bulletin from South Carolina further states: "We are menaced with an expedition from St. Augustine against Georgia and are sending troops (under command of Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney) to the assistance of our sister State." The "Rattlesnake privateer of Philadelphia, Capt. McCulloch," had carried two prizes into Georgia. It was reported that provisions, both fresh and salt, were very scarce in the city of New York: "and though the prices are limited by martial law, yet the seller generally found means to obtain more; that a good quarter of veal could be sold for half a joe, and other provisions in proportion. [A joe is, or was, a Portuguese gold coin, equal to \$8.]

A correspondent signing "Milton," in an address of a column and a quarter, "To the People of Massachusetts-Bay," declaims earnestly against the laws of the state, by which he declares that "Congregationalism is as certainly established by them as Episcopacy is by the laws of England:" and he goes at length into an argument against such discrimination. The effect of these laws, he says, was to compel Christians of other denominations to contribute toward the support of Congregational churches whether they attended such churches or not; and he introduces in illus-

tration the following story: "A collector of ministerial rates called upon a certain barber for his proportion of the minister's tax, to whom, in great surprise, he replied, '*I owe him nothing; I never attended his preaching.*' 'I cannot help that,' said the collector; 'you live in the parish, the doors are open every Sunday, and Mr. — preaches to the congregation; you may attend if you please. The assessors have rated you so much, and I must have the money!' The poor barber was accordingly obliged to pay it. The next day he made a visit to the minister himself, and complained of the injustice of *forcing him to pay* for what he *never had*. 'O sir,' said the minister, '*that is your fault; the meeting-house doors are open every Sunday.*' The barber, finding he could get no relief, went home; and after some months had elapsed, he carried in an account to the minister for shaving him and dressing his wig. The minister looked at it with astonishment and with no small degree of resentment exclaimed, '*I owe you nothing. I never employed you.*' 'I cannot help that, sir,' said the barber; '*that is your fault; my shop is open all the week, and you may be served if you please.*'"

The second page closes with two-thirds of a column of advertisements, offering for sale all sorts of groceries, New England rum and other spirituous liquors, vessels and their equipments, cannon, swivels, shot, "20 casks of essence of spruce," "Jesuits-Bark," flaxseed, "50 tons of Fustick," etc. One column of the third and two of the fourth page are also devoted to various advertisements, including two of absconded slaves—a negro man, named Caesar, for whom a reward of eight dollars is offered by Samuel Lee of Manchester, and a negro girl, Venus, in the nineteenth year of her age, whom Ephraim Fuller of Middleton, cautions everybody against, and forbids their harboring, "as they would avoid the penalty of the law." Quartermaster Undy Hay offers "ten pounds Pennsylvania currency, per month, equal to twenty-six dollars and two-thirds, for experienced teamsters willing to enter the Continental Service." Capt. Benjamin Farnham, of Andover, advertises a deserter, William Burt, who enlisted in Capt. Benjamin Tupper's regiment. William Bant, "Attorney to Hon. John Hancock," notifies all persons indebted to him, or who have demands upon or accounts open with him, to call "at the subscriber's house in Tremont street near the chapel" for settlement. "Continental bills will be received in payment, in preference to gold and silver."

There "is only one regular drug-store advertisement—that of William Scollay," at his shop, the corner of State-street, formerly called "Brazen Head." [Did he give the name to "Scollay Square?"] Among "a variety of the most approved patent medicines, warranted genuine," he has "Lockyer's Pills," in reference to which Mrs. Stebbins mentions the

singular fact of such advertisement, when Lockyer had been in his grave more than one hundred years, having died on the 26th of April, 1672, aged seventy-two. Taken, also, in connection with the following epitaph, which she has preserved in her album, it is still more curious :

" EPITAPH IN ST. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH, SOUTHWICK.

" Here Lockyer lies interred— enough his name

Speaks one hath few competitors in fame,

A name so great, so general, it may scorn

Inscriptions which do vulgar tombs adorn,

A diminution 'tis to write in verse

His eulogies, which most men's mouths rehearse ;

His virtues and his PILLS are so well known,

That envy can't confine them under stone.

But they'll survive his dust and not expire

Till all things else, at th' universal fire,

This verse is lost, his PILLS embalm him safe

To future times, without an epitaph."

Under the general head " America " are about two columns of interesting news articles worthy of being presented entire if space permitted. At Lancaster, May 24th, " the remains of His Excellency, Thomas Wharton, Jr. Esq., President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, was interred with military honours." At Fishkill, Sunday, May 31st, the sloop of war, King-Fisher, of sixteen guns, was obliged " to tow off with precipitation, having been hulled several times by well-directed shot from a couple of guns sent down for the purpose, under command of Capt. Moodie." Deserters from the British army were daily coming in from Philadelphia and New York. A letter received at Hartford states that a considerable village, forty miles west of Albany, had been " destroyed by the Indians and Tories, which brought on an engagement between the enemy and a party of Continental troops," who were defeated with a loss of twenty-five killed and missing. Information had also been received from Washington's headquarters, that a large body of the enemy crossed from Philadelphia, at Cooper's Ferry, into Jersey ; and that a division of the American Grand Army were under marching orders " to intercept them." On May 31, a detachment, one hundred and fifty strong, of British troops, commanded by Major Ayres, landed at the mouth of Fall River, " with a design to burn Freetown and the mills ; but they were repulsed by twenty-five of the citizens before very serious damage was done, leaving one man killed and one mortally wounded. Two Tories were lately hanged in Albany and ten more were to suffer the same fate on the 5th of June."

The legislature of the "State of Massachusetts-Bay," in session, had taken active measures to have all newly enlisted men, and others on furlough, sent to the Continental army at Fishkill without delay. With one other domestic incident, we will close this brief description. T. & J. Fleet, Cornhill, offer for sale "the second edition of Mr. Fiske's Sermon on the Tragical Death of Mr. Joshua Spooner (who was lately barbarously murdered at Brookfield, by three Ruffians, hired for that purpose by his wife) preached on the day of his interment, from 2d Samuel iii. 34—*As a Man fallest before wicked Men, so fallest thou.*"

Alluding to this, Mrs. Stebbins writes: "My mother told us of the execution of this woman, and her 'ruffians' who were British officers. They were hung on Boston Common—the woman in white satin between two of the men. Mr. Spooner's body was found in a well, where they had thrown him. In those days parents used to send their children 'to see the men hung' and my grandmother sent all her children to witness the impressing ceremony."

Is there in any public or private library a copy of Mr. Fiske's Sermon?

Horatio King

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE MARQUIS DE LOTBINIÈRE

Editor Magazine of American History :

In a recent number of your valued publication I find the following extract from Rev. Manasseh Cutler's diary in New York, of Saturday, July 7, 1787: "Dined with Gen. Knox. Introduced to his lady, and a French nobleman, the Marquis Lotbinière—at dinner, to several other gentlemen who dined with us. . . . No person at table attracted my attention so much as the Marquis Lotbinière—not on account of his good sense, for if it had not been for his title I should have thought him two-thirds of a fool."

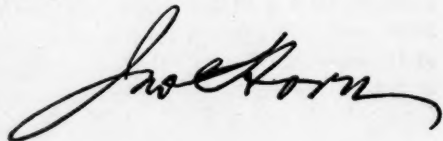
As he has descendants in Montreal to-day, I made inquiries and beg to state that the Marquis de Lotbinière referred to was the ancestor of Col. Harwood, late D. A. G., and of the Honorable Mr. Joly, Mrs. De Bellefeuille, J. Macdonald and others. He was one of the distinguished Canadians who fought the battles of the conquest. In 1746 he served in Acadia as an ensign and rose to the rank of engineer-in-chief of New France. He built Fort Carillon, directed the engineering operations at the siege of William Henry with Desardouin, and built other fortifications. His title was conferred by France since the conquest.

After this event he took part in the war of American Independence on the side of the United States, and was sent by the Court of France on a special secret mission to Congress. His son espoused the British side and was reproached by the Marquis for it.

Regarding his being out of his mind, it is accounted for in this way: once while crossing Isle Perrot his horse took fright, his carriage was dashed to pieces and he barely escaped with his life, his skull being severely fractured. The Marquis recovered after having been trepanned, and at intervals afterwards was eccentric in his ways. It was probably on one of these occasions that Mr. Cutler met him.

The Marquis must have been a man of considerable culture. He was a member of the Académie des Sciences et Belles Lettres, perhaps the only Canadian of his time in that body.

MONTREAL, CANADA, August, 1888.



A TRIP FROM NEW YORK TO NIAGARA IN 1829

UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF COLONEL WILLIAM L. STONE

One of the notable authors and journalists of early New York, for a quarter of a century, was Colonel William Leete Stone, the editor and one of the proprietors of the New York *Commercial Advertiser* from 1821 until his death in 1844. His tastes were literary, and in addition to his political and editorial work he wrote many sketches, satires and tales—two volumes of which were collected and published in 1832; also numerous descriptive and biographical volumes which achieved great popularity in their decade. Among these were the "Ups and downs in the life of a gentleman showing the follies of the day," the story of "Maria Monk," the "Memoirs of Brandt," published in 1838, "Life of Uncas," in 1840, "Life of Red Jacket," in 1841, "History of Wyoming," etc. He was for some years the superintendent of common schools in New York city and did much for the cause of education. He was the son of a clergyman, the Rev. William Stone of central New York, and was carefully educated by his father. When seventeen, he learned the trade of a printer in Coopers-town; but in 1813, at the age of twenty-one, having developed a remarkable talent for the production of newspaper paragraphs, he was made the editor of the *Herkimer American*. During the next eight years his experiences were varied; he at one time edited a paper at Hudson, then at Albany, and for a short season at Hartford. But the year 1821 found him permanently settled in New York city, from which date his career was one of peculiar interest. The "Rough Notes,"—as the quaint little manuscript volume containing this diary before us is entitled, in his own well-known handwriting—furnish many bright pictures of life, habits, affairs, and the condition of thought and of the country in 1829, written in a racy style, and having never been intended for the public eye are all the more attractive to the reader. Colonel Stone opens his diary as follows:

Thursday, September 10, 1829. Left New York at 5 P.M. for Albany in the *New Philadelphia* with between two and three hundred passengers; had an elegant run during most of the passage. The night was cold as November, but the sky being clear, and the moon nearly at full, we had a glorious view of the Highlands, and the other and magnificent points of scenery along the Hudson. . . Found Mrs. Stone awaiting my arrival at

the Eagle tavern, and remained during the day. Attended the ancient court, Judge Duer presiding, and heard an important trial for slander, *Foot vs. Whipple*, connected with the murder of John Whipple by Strong in 1827. Verdict six cents for plaintiff—equivalent to defeat.

This day (Friday) the Anti-Masonic party celebrated the abduction and supposed death of William Morgan, who is believed to have been murdered as a punishment for revealing some of the secrets of Freemasonry. The procession was a shabby affair. The address was pronounced by Samuel Miles Hopkins, Esq., a gentleman of talent and character, who ought to be engaged in better business. . . .

Saturday, September 12, 1829. Left the Eagle tavern, at Albany, at half past five o'clock A. M., for Cooperstown. Weather uncommonly cold for the season. The morning was so raw and chilly that it was uncomfortable for Mrs. Stone. A heavy frost covered the ground, spangling the meadows with millions of gems as the sunlight glanced over the landscape. After the sand-plains of Albany and Guilderland were crossed the country opened beautifully. Had never traveled this way before. Duanesburgh struck me as being a very excellent township, occupied by thrifty farmers. Several pleasant country-seats and one or two elegant ones met the view. Our fellow passengers were not of the most interesting description. All were ignorant, and some dissipated. One of these had but one leg and one arm. He had been a school-master in Ohio, and the Jamaica-like odor of his breath sufficiently indicated the divinity he most loved to worship. He said he had rather go to the state prison than again teach school. If the Ohioans have any more teachers like him they had better send them there. Among other divertisements in this poor pedagogue's autobiography, he informed us, with great apparent satisfaction, that he had had his nose twisted, but it cost the twister \$36! One honest fellow from Casenovia, finding a school-master on board, started a learned conversation upon the subject of ancient history. He had been to see the mummy in Albany, and it brought vividly to his recollection divers and sundry passages of "Josephus and Rowland's (Rollin's) ancient history." The pedagogue had to give it up: he had never heard of *them there authors!*

At one of the post-offices on the way, the honest keeper of the keys of Uncle Sam's mail-bags, read to the mail contractor, who was of our company, a letter from the new postmaster-general, by which it appeared that attempts were making to turn him out of office. "I don't think they ought to trouble me," said the worthy man with solemn visage, "I have not electioneered any, and I have always been with the strongest party!" . . . One of our company was an honest anti-mason from the west. He inquired

whether anti-masonry was not gaining where I came from? I told him that sort of people were becoming scarce in my part of the country. He looked solemnly thereat, and heaving a long sigh said more secrets were now coming to light. "Ah!" said I, "what are they?" "Why," he replied, "one of my neighbors, a captain and a man I have always looked up to—a good pious man was last week on his death bed as we all thought. He confessed that he was a royal arch mason; and he said that in that degree they used human skulls to drink out of! When asked where they got the skulls, he *didn't like to tell*." "But," said I, "are you sure, my friend, that he said they drank from skulls, in the royal arch degree?" He said he was. "Then," I replied, "this dying man is the only royal arch mason who ever saw the skull or used it in that degree." The man thereupon gave a look as much as to say that he did not expect the truth from me. "It was a secret," he said; "it was never known that they had skulls in lodges before." "But my friend," I replied, "I have drank from a skull, and Lord Byron had one mounted with silver and used it for a drinking cup; and besides," I continued, "it never has been a secret, for here is a lady who has heard me state the fact that they were used in some of the degrees more than ten years ago." I then asked the man how he supposed the masons got the skulls? He shook his head and rolled up his eyes and said, "the dying man could not tell that." "Do you and the anti-masons suppose then," said I, "that the masons murder people to get these skulls for the lodges?" "Why," said he, "that is pretty much our opinion." Alas! when will the days of humbug and imposture cease?

The descent from the hilly regions into the vale of Cherry Valley is surpassingly beautiful. The village itself is a handsome one, and the residence of a number of genteel families. The houses are all, or nearly all, white, with Venetian blinds at the windows. This place was a frontier post at the time of the American Revolution. There was a fort and a settlement, but soon after the destruction of Wyoming it was surprised by the Indians under Brandt, and a general massacre ensued. But few escaped the dreadful slaughter. We dined here, and towards the close of the day continued our journey through a fine country of hill and dale to Cooperstown, where we arrived soon after seven o'clock, and were greeted with a hearty welcome by our friends, who had unknown to us been apprised of our approach. . . . Cooperstown was the favorite spot of my boyhood—from childhood to youth, and even manhood. I grew up in the vicinity of this delightful village, which, until I was of legal age to become my own master, was the nearest approach to a city that I had seen. My present visit to a place consecrated by so many early recollections and endearing asso-

ciations was after an absence of fifteen years. I had left it a poor young man, without experience in the world, with but little knowledge, without means or friends to aid or influence my destiny and push me forward. Through the blessing of a kind Providence I now return accompanied by an intelligent, educated, and accomplished wife, and in prosperous, if not affluent circumstances, having been known for fifteen years in political life, and for ten years as the editor of one of the oldest and most respectable daily papers in our country. From a handful of village friends my acquaintance is now co-extensive with the Union, embracing presidents and governors, and gentlemen of every grade of public and literary distinction. When I departed from this place it was with the determination of some day reaching the head of the profession I had chosen. I have now obtained it; and a glow of pleasure thrills me as I look back upon the change. But if I know my own feelings this pleasure is unalloyed with pride or vanity. On the contrary such are my demerits and deficiencies that I cannot but wonder at my own success. And I am constrained to raise my heart in humble thanks to that God who has thus prospered my earthly career. The village has undergone few changes since I last gazed upon it; and the general aspect of the scenery is the same. Many new and substantial houses have been erected upon the sites of less commodious and elegant structures. But the size of the town has not materially increased. Here is the lake bright, placid, and beautiful as ever, and the crest of the lofty mountain is darkened by the tall evergreens as before. Here stands the little Episcopal church in which I first learned the Episcopal form of worship from my father's venerable friend, the Rev. Daniel Nash, and where I had first seen the rites of confirmation administered by the late Bishop Moore, of New York. . . . And on the hill stood the Presbyterian church in which I had so often, twenty years ago, listened with rapture to the glowing and impassioned eloquence of Dr. John Chester. . . . The changes most obvious were in the situation and prospects of the family of the late Judge Cooper, who had been the first enterprising settler of this country soon after the close of the Revolutionary war. Judge Cooper was the original of the "Judge Templeton" of the novel of the Pioneers, written by the distinguished novelist, his youngest son. He was the founder of the village, and of the county likewise. He died towards the close of the year 1809, leaving five sons and one daughter, heirs of handsome estates. All these were living and in affluent circumstances when I was last in the village. Now four of the sons are dead and their families left almost destitute! One son, my friend James F. Cooper, distinguished as an author, is now residing in Florence, Italy. To him the

loss of property has probably been of more real advantage than the money ten times over would have been. It has called forth the slumbering energies of his mind and given vigor and stimulus to his imagination by the exertion with which he has acquired a proud name among the writers of the age, and added to his literary reputation of his country.

Sunday September 13. Attended the Episcopal church in the morning and heard a sensible discourse from the Rev. Mr. Tiffany, a brother-in-law of the Rev. Charles J. Stewart—formerly missionary to the Sandwich Islands. . . . In the afternoon I attended service in the Presbyterian church—sermon by Rev. Mr. Smith, successor of Dr. Chester in 1810.

September 15. Made a visit with Mrs. Stone at Burlington, a town ten miles distant, in which my father once resided as the settled minister. Several years of my childhood were passed in this town. . . . Lodged with my father's old friend and family physician, Dr. Richardson, who with his wife gave us a hearty welcome. In company with Dr. R—I walked a mile to the ancient premises of my father and wandered over the fields which I had assisted in clearing and cultivating, and looked with mingled emotions of pleasure and affection upon the mature and vigorous fruit trees which many years before my own hands had planted. . . .

Wednesday September 16. Returned to Cooperstown, and found the yeomanry "all furnished—all in arms"—that is, arms of some sort. But though it was a field day, and General Morell was prancing about with a brilliantly arrayed staff, surely I never saw so forlorn a regiment on duty. Some had sticks, and some had muskets, and some not even a corn-stalk, while many were "ragged as Lazarus." In the evening we attended a party at the house of John M. Bowers. Both he and his lady were absent, but the little entertainment had been projected by his daughters, of whom he has a most lovely and interesting group. . . .

Saturday September 19. Rose at five o'clock to take the mail coach for Utica. The morning was cloudy and cold, and our stage route, first westerly upon the turnpike, over a most hilly and disagreeable region, and thence up the woody valley of Oaks Creek to the foot of Schuyler's Lake, was cold and cheerless. After warming ourselves by a good fire we proceeded on our journey. The sun now began to shine brightly over the hills, and the mists disappeared as we crossed the outlet of the lake. . . . This little lake is but six miles long, and has not the advantages of such majestic scenery as that which adorns and exalts the Otsego lake; but its shores are beautified by a fertile country rich in farms and fruit fields, woodlands and meadows, and is a very charming spot. We arrived at Richfield Springs at nine o'clock, and after watering our

horses passed on three miles further over a fine road to the little village of Monticello where we partook of an excellent breakfast. Resuming our journey we traveled through the town of Winfield, Herkimer County. . . . At the four corners in Bridgewater I was surprised to find a thrifty-looking village of fifty or sixty houses, where in passing nineteen years before I recollect to have seen not more than three or four. Found an old friend, Willard Crafts, Esq., settled here as a lawyer. He was engaged in a neat little flower garden when I arrived. After passing some twenty minutes with him, the tin trumpet sounded the note of our departure. From this place to New Hartford the country is rich and beautiful; but God has done much more for it than man, under whose culture it has not visibly improved for the last twenty years. The village itself has been stationary. Between five and six o'clock we entered Utica, which nine years ago ranked only as a flourishing village. It has grown as if by magic to the dimensions of a large city; and with amazement I beheld the long streets and rows and blocks of stores and dwellings, and large beautiful country seats, through which our coach conveyed us in driving to the lodgings I had selected.

I had heard much of the march of improvements in Utica since the completion of the Erie Canal. But I had no idea of the reality. Rip Van Winkle himself after his thirty years' repose in a glen of the mountains was not more amazed than I at the present aspect and magnitude of this beautiful place. Bagg's hotel to which I directed my driver was in the very heart of the village and the centre of business at the period of my last visit. Now it is quite in the suburbs. The houses were then scattered except in two or three principal streets, though some were spacious and elegant; now they are closely built, and lofty.

Sunday September 20. A cold cheerless day, during most of which the rain descended in torrents. Attended Rev. M. Aikin's church in the morning and heard the Rev. Mr. Frost, of Whitesborough on the *unchangeableness of God*. It would have been a good sermon had the preacher stopped when he had done his best. But its effect was killed by its length. The church itself is a new and noble structure, finished with great taste, and planned with an eye to the utmost convenience. A fine organ added its full rich tones to the music of an excellent choir; and considering the inclemency of the weather the audience was a far more numerous and genteel one than could have been collected on a similar day in New York.

We did not go out in the evening.

Monday September 21. Alternate showers and sunshine rendered it quite too wet and uncomfortable to visit the different parts of the city,

and impossible for Mrs. Stone to go out. I called upon a few friends. Mr. Tracey, formerly of Lansingburg, the editor of the *Sentinel*, General Ostram, R. R. Lansing, Esq., Ezekiel Bacon, Esq., and some others, and talked of politics and anti-masonry. Visited a new museum containing one or two dried alligators, and a few veritable daubs in the way of portraits. Poor John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay! Never have the wicked cannibal Jackson-men abused you half as much as the cold-blooded artist has done in these pictures! The other parts of the collection are miserable enough. The baked sharks and turtles would have been ashamed of their present condition. From the top of the building, however, I enjoyed a glorious view of the whole village and the surrounding country for many miles. What a beautiful country!

Heard from Trenton that the roads were so bad as to render a visit to Trenton Falls unadvisable for the present. Left Utica therefore at seven in the evening, in a new and splendid canal packet boat for the west. It is truly a superior boat, fitted up with the elegance and taste of a North river steamer though on a smaller scale. An excellent band of music was on board which had come by invitation from Rochester, it being the first trip of this canal boat. The musicians were very respectable young men. But a few of the passengers were exceedingly vulgar in the eyes of all but themselves, and rendered us very uncomfortable. Upstarts who have seen just enough of the world to become pert and impudent, who in the consciousness of inferiority are over anxious to command respect, and who imagine money a substitute for manners, are the most disagreeable traveling companions in existence. The night continued dark and rainy, and nothing was seen of the country until the following morning.

Tuesday September 22. Arrived at Syracuse at half past ten o'clock and had the unexpected pleasure of being greeted at the landing by my old and intelligent friend, Seth Hunt, Esq., a gentleman of extensive travel and vast general information. I looked about as I stepped on shore with still more astonishment than at Utica. "Another enchanted city!" I exclaimed, as I glanced upwards and around upon splendid hotels and rows of majestic buildings, crowded with people, all full of life and activity. Nine years before, I had passed a day here, among some five or six scattered tenements, one of which had just been erected, and was then occupied by Joshua Forman, the village being surrounded by a desolate, poverty-stricken, woody country, enough to make an owl weep to fly over it.

"Never mind" said Forman, "You will live to see this place a city yet." And truly the prediction is already realized. As the county build-

ings now erecting upon an extensive scale have been located midway between Salina and Syracuse, the two towns will be soon united, as Greenwich now is to New York. Within twenty years therefore Syracuse will be equal the present size of Albany. Salt of the purest quality can here be produced at cheapest rate for the whole continent. Dined at one o'clock. In the afternoon walked with Mr. Hunt through the village and visited some of the salt fields in the neighborhood, which are of great extent, and intended for the manufacture of salt by solar evaporation. Many hundred acres are covered with vats. A crop is produced in about two months of the warm season. In the wet and winter months nothing is done.

The village of Salina has grown prodigiously since 1820. It now contains many large and well built stores, flouring mills, handsome streets and dwellings, and there are four beautiful churches, including a great edifice belonging to the Roman Catholics.

Wednesday September 23. Last evening the inmates of our hotel were thrown into confusion by the breaking open of sundry trunks while we were at tea, one of which was robbed of \$1,800 in bank bills. At one o'clock we left the village in a carriage with L. H. Redfield, editor of the *Syracuse Gazette*, and his lady. As we wished to strike the mail stage road at Onondaga Hollow to take the stage that evening, Mr. Redfield thus handsomely facilitated our object. We passed the marsh where the great battle between the French and the Six Nations was fought in the old French war. A field piece used on that occasion was recently dug out of the marsh. . . .

The mail coach came along in due season and rec'd us on board. We found it filled with agreeable passengers, several of whom were acquaintances. We arrived soon after the shades of night deepened at Skaneateles—a village by all allowed to be one of unsurpassed loveliness.

Before we had finished a hasty though excellent meal, of which we were much in want, we were honored with the calls of Mr. Burnett, his son, and a brother, lately from England, who came to New York with letters of introduction to me, and who I soon found to be a gentleman of great intelligence and much experience in the world—of extensive travel and agreeable manners.

Sunday September 24. Rose at seven, and looked from our window upon the lake of which we had heard so much. It is indeed a beautiful sheet of water extending sixteen miles through a charming country. The village is very pretty, and many houses on the borders of the lake are built with taste and envired with shrubbery, as houses in the country always

should be. But there was one grand mistake made in building this village which has marred its beauty exceedingly. The main street was laid out so as to sweep round to the margin of the lake at its foot. On the northern side of this street, and fronting the lake, the houses of the citizens were erected, and one would have supposed that even the Goths and Vandals would have had genius enough to have preserved an open view to the lake by having a smooth lawn of green sward planted, with locusts and the willow between the road and the lake! But contrary to every principle of taste or beauty, one of the churches and several blocks of stores and artisans' work-shops have been erected upon the shore, which in most cases entirely intercept the water-prospect! But for the privilege of taking now and then a sail, or a mess of fish, the good people might as well have had no lake at all. The stores should be burnt by the common hangman, and the church taken quietly down and reared in a more suitable place.

Friday September 25. Two thunder gusts and much rain this morning. But the weather cleared about 11 o'clock and we resolved to proceed to Auburn. Mr. Burnett, his lady, and brother being about to drive to Geneva, Mrs. Stone was accommodated in their carriage, while Mr. Burnett and myself drove to Auburn in a chaise. We arrived just after a portion of an immense stone bridge had broken, and fallen with a tremendous crash. A large crowd of people had assembled, and stood about the ruins in such numbers as to prevent our seeing what was the matter. A fragment of the bridge yet stood over which we drove, tottering, and gradually yielding as it was, and as we were strangers nobody thought we were of sufficient consequence to inform us that we were imperiling our lives. On arriving at the hotel we were informed of the catastrophe; and running back to look at the ruins, we had ample cause of felicitation at our narrow escape. Auburn is a large, and appears to be a flourishing village, but it is my intention to visit it on my return. The state prison, at a distance wears a commanding appearance; and a hotel is nearly completed which will be one of the most extensive and elegant establishments in this country. The main edifice is fifty-six feet square and four stories high exclusive of the basement. . . We dined with our friends at the private residence of Mr. Weed, after which took a post coach for Weed's Basin, at which place it was promised we should arrive in season for the Canal packet. But the roads were intolerably bad and the packet had been past a full hour when we drew near. The consequence was that we were compelled to crowd ourselves into the narrow accommodations of a merchant boat. We passed a night uncomfortable enough. . . The cabins were

too small to turn round in. . . and the passengers very good for *Universal Suffrage* folks—all Jackson-men as the color of their shirt collars abundantly attested. . . We suffered as much penance as the holiest Catholic father could have imposed on the veriest heretic in christendom. But morning at length arrived and we were safely landed at Lyons.

Saturday, September 26. This village too was all but a wilderness at the period of my last visit. Now it has grown into considerable importance. It is the shire town of Wayne county, and in addition to a number of shops and stands, and the county buildings, it contains many respectable and some elegant residences. Among the latter is the seat of Myron Hawley, Esq., formerly one of the leading and most able and efficient of our canal commissioners, whose names will be perpetuated as long as the lakes and the ocean are connected by the golden commercial chain forged under the direction of the great Clinton. Mr. Hawley showed us through his grounds; and I was much surprised to find one of the richest and most beautiful gardens I had ever beheld. It contains something like six or eight acres, which was woodland I presume in 1820; it is elegantly laid out and cultivated; with fruit trees, shrubs, vines, etc., in great variety and profusion. . . Mr. Hawley is a gentleman of high intellectual powers, of fine education, and extensive scientific acquirements. Latterly he has turned his attention to horticultural pursuits for his amusement. Every thing upon his premises is disposed in the most admirable order, and according to the most correct principles of taste and beauty. From here we drove in a private carriage over a rough and ragged road to the humble residence of my venerable parents, in the parish of East Ridge, where we arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon. . . This visit was after an absence of nine years. . . At the present time Sodus is not a place of much business, although before the completion of the Erie canal much was done here with potash in connection with the Montreal market. In former times, moreover, when Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison were exerting what were called the restriction energies of the government, the smuggling business was believed to have greatly flourished at this place. Many were the cargoes of flour and ashes which were loaded at the docks here and got well under weigh while the deputy custom house officers were artfully detained by cards and the bottle in the little hells of the neighborhood. . . Without making any invidious comparisons between this place and Oswego, it may safely be asserted that this harbor is a better and more accessible and safer one than that of Oswego. . .

[To be continued.]

MINOR TOPICS

REVOLUTIONARY HOUSES IN NEW JERSEY

THE SCENE OF WASHINGTON'S "PRETTY LITTLE FRISK"

The September issue of the *Magazine of American History* contains a letter of General Nathaniel Greene, from Somerset County, New Jersey, dated in the spring of 1779, in which he tells us that Washington danced at his quarters for three hours with Mrs. Greene without sitting down, and writes further, that "upon the whole we had a pretty little frisk." It is interesting to note that the old dwelling in which these distinguished people danced, is still in existence and in a good state of preservation. It stands on the left bank of the Raritan river, about two miles below Somerville, and but a short distance north of the Finnerne railway station. It was built by Derrick Van Veghten early in the last century, who was born in 1699, in an adjoining stone house that was erected some years earlier by his father, Michael Van Veghten, who came here from the upper Hudson, and who was among the earliest of the Dutch pioneers of the Raritan valley. Although bearing many marks of age, this old two story Holland brick house still stands firmly, and unimpaired, upon its solid foundation, and its hearthstone continues to attract visitors and cement family ties. At the time of Greene's occupancy of it Derrick Van Veghten was nearly eighty years of age; he was very strong in his sympathy with the patriot cause, and did much to add to the comfort of the rank and file of the army, as well as of its officers. His homestead, which even then was an aged dwelling, was the scene of a bounteous hospitality. In addition to the official intercourse beneath its roof resulting from its being the headquarters of Greene, who was then quartermaster-general, the presence of Mrs. Greene proved a potent charm and drew many to this old Dutch farm-house. She was then about twenty-five years of age, is said to have been singularly lovely in character, and was possessed of such brilliant qualities as earned for her high distinction, causing her society and friendship to be sought by the best people of the country.

Somerset County in New Jersey is peculiarly rich in Revolutionary houses, and it is quite extraordinary that so many of those in which the leading generals of the army quartered during the encampment of the winter and spring of 1779 should still be extant, and in use. A notable example is one that was occupied by Washington, who, not being able to find a building in the vicinity of Bound Brook or Middlebrook—where the main body of the army lay—ample enough for his accommodation, established his headquarters at the Wallace house, then barely completed. It is still to be seen embedded in the green of its surrounding trees, on the road leading from Somerville to Raritan, where that highway crosses the track of the Central Railroad of New Jersey. This most honored of Somerset's

mansions opened its hospitable portals that winter and spring to many distinguished people. The daily dinner was an affair of ceremony and importance; often as many as thirty persons were entertained, as, in addition to visitors, the company always included a certain number of officers which it was Washington's habit to invite daily to dinner.

The artillery was stationed six miles away, at Pluckemin. General Knox, with his wife, occupied the residence of Mr. Jacobus Van der Veer, on what is now the Ludlow farm just below the Bedminster church. This house has been somewhat modernized though still retaining many of its old-time characteristics; few passers-by, however, would suspect that it was erected before the year 1760. From December, 1778, until June, 1779, it was by far the most important house in Bedminster township, and the rallying point of both military and social affairs. Scores of people came and went each day. General Steuben made his headquarters nearly a mile south of the Raritan, at a house located at the end of a grassy lane, running from the New Brunswick road. It was then the residence of Abraham Staats, and is now occupied by a descendant of its Revolutionary owner. Since that time two wings have been added to the original structure, but the central portion remains as it was during Steuben's occupancy. Its sloping roof, low eaves and shingled sides speak of times long bygone, but it is still modern in the sense of its picturesque homeliness, being in full accord with its turfy setting, and its tree-embowered surroundings. The Baron was fond of entertaining his brother officers and this Staats house has witnessed many scenes of conviviality. On one occasion under a Marquee erected in an adjoining grove sixty guests gathered about the table, among them Washington, M. Gerard, the French minister, and Don Juan de Miralles, a gentleman of distinction from Spain.

Another building that has a Revolutionary story to tell is the large house to be seen on the right of the turnpike, above Bound Brook, and just beyond Middlebrook stream. It was known as "Phil's Hill," and was the dwelling of Philip Van Horn, the father of five handsome and well-bred daughters who were the much admired toasts of both armies. These bright-eyed young women welcomed alike friend and foe, and, it is said, were often the means of mitigating the ferocities of war. They had their reward—they all obtained husbands. Here, with a number of other young army officers, quartered one of the most popular men in the vicinity of Camp Middlebrook. He was a swarthy faced graceful youth of twenty-three—brave Light Horse Harry Lee—the pet of the army, and afterwards the father of Robert E. Lee who gave up his sword at Appomattox. Another interesting building, but a short distance from the Van Horn house, is the old Middlebrook tavern. When it was erected cannot be learned, but it was certainly before 1750. Its present occupant and owner is fully alive to the value of its old time associations, and is careful to preserve intact all that testifies of ancient days. In its quaint bar-room many marks of Revolutionary bayonets are to be seen upon the heavy beams of its low-studded ceiling.

Pages could be written descriptive of the interesting scenes and incidents of which Somerset County was the theatre during that memorable winter. Numerous circumstances conspired to make this Middlebrook cantonment conspicuous for its agreeable features. The British were quiet at their quarters in New York. Both officers and men of the Continental force were in excellent temper; they had been greatly encouraged by their success at Monmouth, and inclined to think that they had at last mastered the art of war, and they felt that their arms were now sure to prevail because of the powerful alliance of France. In addition, the weather was singularly mild, in strong contrast to the preceding winter at Valley Forge, or the succeeding one, when the army lay buried in snow on the bleak wind-swept Kimball Hill, near Morristown. Many opportunities, consequently presented themselves for social intercourse. Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Greene, and Mrs. Knox had frequent visitors from Virginia, Philadelphia and New England. Lady Stirling and her attractive daughter, Lady Kitty, often drove to camp from Basking Ridge, as did Mrs. Lott and her daughter Cornelia—Mrs. Greene's warm friend—from beyond Morristown. The daughters of Governor Livingston spent several weeks at headquarters, and some of the generals and colonels were accompanied by their wives and daughters. Attached to the line and staff of the army were many brilliant young men who naturally fraternized with the Jersey families, and altogether, there was a considerable contingent of ladies' society in the vicinity of Middlebrook Camp. This resulted in a succession of affairs of ceremony, reunions, dances and tea drinkings, culminating in the gala *fête* at Pluckemin, celebrating the first anniversary of the French alliance, and in the grand review at Bound Brook, in honor of the foreign ambassadors and their suites.

ANDREW D. MELLICK, Jr.

PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY.

GENERAL RUFUS PUTNAM'S HOUSE IN RUTLAND

WHERE THE OHIO COMPANY ORIGINATED

Editor Magazine of American History:

As I have been a constant reader of your Magazine from the first number to the present time, and take great interest in the same, please allow me to correct an error in the article "Marietta, Ohio, 1788-1888," in your September number. On page 76, the twenty-third line, the word "Vermont" should be Massachusetts.* Gen. Rufus Putnam was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, lived in Brookfield a number of years, and in 1781 or 1782 bought one of Col. John Murray's confiscated farms in Rutland, Massachusetts,† and in 1782 moved to the same with his family, where they lived till the spring of 1790, when he with his wife, eight children and two domestics, as also several other families from Rutland, left for Ohio.

* The editor is extremely grateful for the above correction of a typographical error which escaped notice until too late for remedy.

† See Sabine's "Loyalists of American Revolution" vol. 2, 115.

The house in which General Rufus Putnam lived is yet standing and in good condition, having changed but little since he left it, and the room in which General Putnam and General Tupper spent the night of January 10, 1786, is now the same, no changes having been made except occasionally a coat of paint, and temporary board before the old open fire-place. There are many foot prints left of General Putnam in Rutland.

J. A. SMITH

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.

OLD ENGLISH CLASSIC STYLE

The literary merit of the Collects in the Book of Common Prayer—the beauty of diction as well as of thought, the metrical flow—almost rhythm of the language—the style of these gems in English composition has excited the admiration and challenged the homage of all who have an eye and ear for the charms of literature.

The ability to compose after this manner in our mother tongue gradually waned after the Elizabethan era, until it became one of the lost arts. For the force of thought was not sacrificed to beauty of expression, as in those who affect an ornate or florid style—nay, thought was strengthened by this marvelous diction—as inimitable as it is charming. Almost any and all the collects are deserving of this high commendation,—but take for examples the one for the 6th Sunday after Trinity, All Saints' Day, and the Collect used on Rogation Days. The mere brilliancy of expression reminds one of a skillful magician, tossing bright balls above, and by his art keeping them dancing in the air. A short passage in Shakespeare, Richard II., act II., scene 3d—notably displays this wonderful power.

"Northumberland. Believe me, noble lord, to Berkeley now? I am a stranger here in Gloucestershire :

These high wild hills and rough uneven ways
Draws out our miles, and makes them wearisome ;
And yet your fair discourse hath been as sugar,
Making the hard way sweet and delectable.
But I bethink me what a weary way
From Ravenspurgh to Cotswold will be found
In Ross and Willoughby, wanting your company,
Which, I protest, hath very much beguiled
The tediousness and process of my travel :
But theirs is sweetened with the hope to have
The present benefit which I possess ;
And hope to joy is little less in joy
Than hope enjoy'd : by this the weary lords
Shall make their way seem short, as mine hath done :
By sight of what I have, your noble company."

Here the interchange of words and play upon words, adds virility to the thought expressed, so that no one could possibly doubt after reading it, that pleasant companionship neutralizes the tedium of travel.

G. G. HEPBURN

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

Unpublished Letter from W. Heron to Sir Henry Clinton

(Original in possession of William Everts Benjamin.)

NEW YORK, Monday Morning, 4 March, 1782.

SIR,

I arrived here late last night and would not have undertaken a journey of 70 miles at this inclement season were it not that I discovered in our friend Mr. K— some inattention to those matters which I have from time to time communicated to him; tho' I am very far from thinking it done thro' design, for I believe him a very honest Man; but rather too indolent and subject to some little infirmities which in some degree disqualifies a person for Business which requires close attention, a good Memory & clear head. His having to pass thro' the Guards whenever he met me, rendered it unsafe for him to carry any writings about him; therefore we were under the necessity of giving and receiving only verbal Accounts of those matters w'ich were afterwards to be Committed to writing by him for y^r perusal; but every succeeding interview I had with him convinc'd me that whatever he had in Charge suffer'd by passing thro' his Hands in the above manner.

As I dare not Venture to bring any Minutes with me, I have to trust to Memory in arranging such Matters as may be necessary to Lay before you. The first thing I shall take up is the Circular Letter wrote by Gen^l. Washington to the several States, or Assemblies, pressing them in the most earnest manner to fill up the deficiencies in the Army with all possible expedition, holding up to view a fixed determination to open an early Campaign before the Arrival of any Succours from England; and altho' this Garrison was not pointed at in that Letter (which was read in the Assembly at Hartford last Jan^y) as the first Object in View, it was the Language of the House that it wou'd have the first attention paid to it at the opening of the Campaign. However, it is observ'd by those who are thought to be in the Secrets of the Cabinet, and who are judges of Military Plans, that it must depend on some Events taking place; such as the early arrival of a Superior French fleet from the West Indies which may force their way into this Port, or whose operations may be directed against Charlestown. The former is the prevailing opinion. Also a Compliance on the part of the Court of France with the Requisition of Congress with which the Marquiss De Lafayette was Charg'd when

he Sail'd from Boston : That is, an Armament to be sent into the River of St. Lawrence as early as Possible, which may not only serve to divert the attention of the Commander-in-Chief in that Province from any attempt on the Northern frontiers, but, perhaps, may be attended with Signal Success shou'd the Canadians favour the attempt. Such an Event wou'd afford them an opportunity of Collecting their whole Strength to a point against this Garrison. Another event on which a vigorous Campaign depends is the abilities of ye Colonies to raise their respective Quotas of Men and other supplies ; and that they are deficient in point of Abilities seems to be reduc'd to some degree of certainty from the following Consideration. The Financier-general, Mr. Morris, has made a late demand for Eight Millions of Dollars to answer the exigencies of the Curr^t. Year ; the proportion which Connecticut bears is not far from 800,000 Doll^r.— When the question was put in the late Assembly whether this demand shou'd be Comply'd with, it pass'd in the Negative ; but to get rid of it with some grace, they Voted to appropriate Nine pence on the pound to that use, of a Tax of 2s 6d on the pound which was imposed last May, and to be paid in kind, and which indeed is already absorb'd almost. Even the Ninepence on the Pound wou'd raise only about 225,000 Dollars to be paid (not in specie as is required) in specific Articles of Country produce. The rest of the Assemblies which have been convened in Consequence of the foregoing requisition seem to manifest similar Backwardness, or rather plead inability.

The people of Vermont are disaffected and talk in a high tone against the jurisdiction of Congress—. Great Quantities of Warlike Stores and Artillery are transported to Albany from Connecticut and Massachusetts, which would seem to Indicate a design against Canada were it not that we know they can with convenience be transported from Albany down the River should they be needed. One Brigade of the Connecticut line are under marching orders, 'tis thought to join the Hampshire Line at Saratoga. The reasons assign'd for the Movement by those who are supposed to know, are to answ^r. Various purposes ; the keeping the people of Vermont in Awe, to be ready to Check any incursions from Canada, and to take the necessary preparatory steps shou'd an expedition be form'd against it in Consequence of the taking place of those events already noted.

I receiv'd a Letter from a friend of mine who commands a Regim^t of the Hampshire Troops at Saratoga acquainting me that Gen^l Haldiman had 2,500 regular troops canton'd near Chansblee late in the fall and that it was expected he wou'd cross the Lake early in the spring, which is the reason why those troops were detain'd at Saratoga this winter. This may account for the sending the Cannon & Stores to Albany.

The drawing the Canadians from their allegiance seems to be a matter which the Congress has much at heart ; judging that if the independence of the thirteen Colonies shou'd be acknowledged by Great Britain, it wou'd be very insecure so long as she possess'd such an extensive region in their neighbourhood.

The last thing which deserves notice is the Spirit of discord which prevails in

the Country, and is occasion'd by so many of their leading Characters being suspected of carrying on the Illicit Trade as they call it——. Mutual Jealousies and Animosities arising from this Source, prevail in the Assemblies & Councils of New York & Connecticut.

Trumbull & Clinton, their Governors, are openly accused——. The last Assembly which sat at Hartford in Jan^r last, appointed a Committee to examine the Conduct of the Govern^r respecting this business, but their report was favourable to him——. Some of their ablest Politicians painted the ill tendency of this practice in glowing Colours——.

They Hesitate not to pronounce the ruin of their Fabric of Independence as inevitable in case a stop is not put to it——.

It is the Policy (say they) which Britain seems to have adopted to make New York a place of Arms, a safe Asylum for their fleets, whence they can Issue forth to Annoy the Coasts, and annihilate the American Trade, encourage & Countenance Commercial Intercourses between their citizens and the Inhabitants of the States, which will not only draw supplies from them for their fleets & Armies, and drain the Country of the little Specie in it; but, which is still more fatal to their Cause, eventually detach the people from the prosecution of the War, & finally become reconciled to those whom they were taught to view as their enemies——.

Such are the fears & Apprehensions of their ablest Republicans——. Shou'd the foregoing hints answer any valuable purpose, it will afford such Satisfaction to me as is felt by those who are Conscious of aiming to do what lies in their power to promote the true Interest of their Country.

With Sentiments of Gratitude & esteem

I am, Sir,

Your most Obed^t. Serv^t.

W. H.

P. S. As I wish to return as soon as possible, I shou'd be glad to receive your Commands to-morrow at Capt. M^cNeill, under a Cover directed to him; together with a Passport. Shou'd it be expected that I shou'd continue my attention to this Business, I believe the Line through our friend Mr. K—— must be shifted; for I am sensible he is too inattentive and that his Bottle and friend may divert him from matters of the greatest Importance——. It may do for me on very extraordinary occasions to see him and insist on his coming off immediately; but we must not be together frequently——. I have kept Gen^l P——s in a tolerable frame of mind since I had the pleasure of seeing you last, & altho' he was somewhat Chagrin'd when I return'd from this place last October, yet I am convinc'd that in endeavouring to serve you he has (since) render'd himself in some measure, unpopular. As you very well remember, I acquainted you with this Man's prevailing disposition and temper, and observ'd that altho' I believed him a

rank Republican in principle, yet he was capable of serving you from other motives—

The same Motives are still existing—and in Addition to them, disgust, Chagrin, & disaffection towards his Superiors come in as powerful Auxillaries—his frustrating the expedition concerted by Talmadge against Loyds Neck, his being an advocate for Loyal Subjects, and his being ready to Communicate whatever comes to his Knowledge of the Secrets of the Cabinet, are facts which are indisputable.

Whether such services merit any reward, or whether a Man of principles can be Useful to you, is not for me to say: However, he has been encourag'd to expect something, and I suppose, can't be kept much longer in Countenance—. For my own part, I consider myself bound to persevere in discharging, as far as my situation will admit of, those duties which I owe my sovereign & my Country.

INTERESTING UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

Extract from letter of General Rufus Putnam to Colonel Benj. Tallmadge

(From the Putnam Manuscripts in Library of Marietta College.)

Contributed by E. C. Dawes.

Marietta, Ohio, January 25, 1797

* * * Suffer me to congratulate you and all the true friends of national liberty on the prospect that Mr. Adams will succeed our old friend *Montezuma* in the Chair of the United States. I pray with you "that a good Providence may still continue to protect and defend us from foreign war and domestic inquietude"—but rather than submit to the intrigues and insolence of any Nation, so daring and unprovoked as those of the French appear to be, I own I prefer a war with all its horrors; because we should secure more firmly our Liberty and independence as a Nation (which was first established at the expense of so much Blood and Treasure); whereas if we tamely submit to the insolence of the present French Government it may justly be considered as a prelude to a total extinguishment of National Independence and subject us to the sport of European politics.

NOTES

SHERIDAN'S MEMORY—The memory of Sheridan was faultless, writes Thomas Donaldson in the *Philadelphia Press*. He could recall regiments, brigades and commanders at will. In conversing about the war he reluctantly mentioned himself. When told of Grant's splendid and just opinion of his abilities he blushed like a woman. He never forgot the soldiers of the Union. His eyes would fill and his breath come quick and short with any detail of injustice to any one of them. For the "mustang"—the non-graduate of West Point officer—he had as much consideration and kindness as for him from "The Point." There was little of the fuss and feathers about him. Strict as a disciplinarian, his charity was large enough to admit and see errors which were merely human. He wore his uniform only when necessary. His dress was usually of dark cloth, or steel blue or gray. His cutaway coat helped his appearance. His necktie, with standing collar, contained a small sword for a pin. He had one of the most curious hats and queer overcoats of the day. The hat always gave the impression of an accidental change of hats at a reception with some member of a very foreign legation. It was a silk high hat of the most antique and curious pattern. It was tall and thin and with a rim or brim about an inch and a half wide. His top coat reached nearly to the ground, with a straight collar and two buttons near the top. A small switchy cane completed his street costume.

DOES LITERATURE PAY?—"While there are in this country to-day a dozen

writers who make a handsome income, there are thousands who do not and cannot make a living by their pens—I mean by legitimate literary work. Still," says Eugene L. Didier, in the current number of *The Writer*, "even in the face of this discouraging fact, I would strongly urge any man or woman, who 'feels called to a literary life' to pursue it, and, should it be necessary to do something else for a living, to employ every leisure hour in literary work. This country, great and splendid as it is in material progress, is not so great as it should be in literary men. Our great poets and historians are dead; our great novelists have never lived. To all who follow literature honestly and honorably it will pay, if not in money, in a higher sense—in fame; if not in either fame or money, still there is a pleasure in writing, which only writers feel. Milton received only £5 for *Paradise Lost*, but by it he won a fame which will outlive the centuries. Poe was paid only \$10 for *The Raven*, but it gave him an enduring fame. Fielding, after dissipating his estate, said he had to choose between being a hack writer and a hackney coachman. Perhaps, from a pecuniary point of view, the latter would have proved the more profitable, but, as Gibbon says, 'the immortal romance of *Tom Jones* will outlive the palace of the Escorial and the imperial eagle of Austria.' Literature is not, never was, and never will be, a money-making profession. Yet literature is the true glory of nations, and bestows an honor upon individuals which kings can neither give nor take away." This question is attracting wide attention.

THE WOMEN OF LIMA, SOUTH AMERICA—From the earliest times Lima has been noted for its beautiful women, not merely for attractive features, but elegance of physique and graceful movement. In speaking of the women of Lima reference is made to the superior class of Spanish descendants, those of Pizarro and his followers, who, as Prescott states, shod their horses with silver shoes and gambled away in one night the accumulated wealth of centuries.

A typical Lima belle is of larger stature than the North American model of beauty, possessing a well-rounded, graceful form, small and elegantly molded feet, pearly teeth, and proportionate countenances, which are well calculated for the artistic touch invariably received, giving a handsome hue to the swarthy, dimpled cheeks. The eyes are dark, large, and so bewitching in their expression as to drive care from the skipper's mind as he whirls his ideal beauty through the long hallway, his soul keeping time with the spirited waltzes. The essentiality of the life of a Lima belle is pleasure. Household affairs do not harass her. Each member of a family has his or her servant, attentive upon immediate wants, though in a shiftless manner, and in a like careless way performing other duties of his department. The servants have but little to do, and their compensation is small, generally receiving nothing but food and clothing.

A peculiar form of hospitality toward a guest is for the lady of the house to drop perfumed water upon a gentleman's handkerchief or in the bosom of a lady. At the table the senorita compliments you by feeding you with a small piece of meat upon the end of her fork or between

her dimpled fingers. This is taken *volens volens*, and should the party consist of any number of young ladies the rapidity of this masticatory process is anything but a holiday task.

THE BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS—*Editor of Magazine of American History.* The workmen on Edgemoor Avenue, now in process of construction along the eastern edge of Washington Heights, have unearthed several relics of the combat which took place on this ground one hundred and twelve years ago yesterday. Among these are a grape-shot found near 115th Street, and a 6 lb. cannon ball and a fragment of a shell, found between 151st and 152d Streets. The two last are in my possession.

M. VAN RENSSELAER

22 ST. NICHOLAS PLACE, Sept. 17, 1888.

THE CALVERT PAPERS—An important collection of papers relating to Maryland history has recently been discovered in possession of Henry Harford, of England, a descendant of the last Lord Baltimore, residing at his country seat near Windsor, known as "Down Place." Among these are family documents of the Calverts extending back to the time of Queen Elizabeth, the charter of the Province of Maryland in Latin, believed to be the original, and a mass of other documents and records of nameless value. These have been purchased by the Maryland Historical Society, and the readers of the magazine will have further accounts of them in an early issue. It is said to be one of the most important collections of original papers that could possibly fall into the hands of any historical body or individual lover of historic lore.

M. P.

QUERIES

WASHINGTON'S PORTRAIT BY PINE—Some years ago I came across the following public notice of the sale of a portrait of "The father of his country"—in this city. As I have never been able to trace it, can any of your readers give us the desired information? Was such a likeness ever painted, and if so, what became of it?

"VALUABLE PAINTINGS, PRINTS, BUSTS, AND STATUES

The amateurs of fine arts are *respectfully* informed that a small but very choice selection of original paintings, etc., is preparing for exhibition and sale at the Rooms of Mr. Shaw Armour, A.A.B. Montreal (auctioneers and brokers, I suppose), and will be ready for inspection on Thursday, the 19th inst., *but not before*, when catalogues may be had. Amongst the paintings are two of great values from the Farnesean Palace at Rome, and a remarkable fine Portrait of GEORGE WASHINGTON full size, by Pine,

which was painted purposely for the late Dr. Lettsom of London, and is one of the very few pictures for which that eminent warrior and statesman *really sat*. It represents the General in full Regimentals, and was deemed by those who knew him best the most correct likeness ever taken, etc., etc. . . . Montreal, Dec. 14, 1816."

JOHN HORN

MONTREAL, August, 1888.

LIST OF LETTERS OF JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA—Is there among the colonial records of Virginia, or elsewhere, a list of the names of the first settlers of the Jamestown colony?

Were all or any of those settlers from the county of Kent, England; and if so, what were their names?

Among the emigrants, was there, or not, a descendant of a former Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench?

QUERIST

ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

REPLIES

SLAVERY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE [xx. 249]—Briefly, the history of the restriction and abolition of slavery in New Hampshire is as follows: During the two periods of union with Massachusetts, 1641-1680, and 1686-1692, the state was under the "Body of Liberties" adopted by Massachusetts in 1641, December. The ninety-first article of this document declares that there "shall never be any bond-slavery, villanage, or captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves, or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liber-

ties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require." (*Palfrey's New England*. II., p. 30.) In 1715 there were 150 slaves numbered in the census, but early in her colonial history the state passed a law prohibiting the importation of slaves. According to the state constitution which went into effect in 1784, the colonial laws remained in force, thus preventing the introduction of slaves from without. The same constitution opens its Bill of Rights with the declaration that, "All men are born free and equal," and this

clause was immediately (*Lalor's Cyclopaedia Political Science, Slavery*) decided by the courts to guarantee personal freedom to all born in that state after its adoption (*Blake's History of Slavery*, p. 387; *Hildreth's History U. S.*, 1st S., Vol. 3, 392). These statutes naturally led to a gradual extinction of slavery, as is referred to, by Hildreth's (2d S., Vol. 1, 175). The census 1776 showed 629 slaves; that of 1790, 158; 1800, 8; 1840, 1.

J. A. B.

BELOIT, WISCONSIN.

THE HUGUENOTS [xx. 249]—Exemptions from St. Bartholomew's Massacre—Henry, Prince of Navarre, and Henry, Prince of Condé, were both exempted from the slaughter of St. Bartholomew's Day, the former being a brother-in-law of the King, and Condé of the Duke of Nevers. They were both, however, brought before the King, and threatened with death unless they recanted. Neither would accept clemency on that condition, although the answer of Condé was remarkably bold compared with that of Navarre. (*Guizot's France; Baird's Rise of the Huguenots*.) A few weeks later they both participated in the mass, and Navarre, on ascending the throne, adopted the Catholic religion. The King, himself, also protected two of his servants, Ambroise Paré, his surgeon, and his old Huguenot nurse. The conversation of the brave physician with the King is related by Guizot. It is said that when Charles was dying, the old nurse he had saved was his constant attendant and confidante. His mind was continually on that dreadful August Sunday, and her prayers at his bedside that God would lay the bloody deed not

to his but to his advisers' charge had little power to soothe him, as he cried: "Ah, my nurse, my friend, how much blood! how many murders!"

J. A. B.

BELOIT, WISCONSIN.

CONGREGATIONS AND CHURCHES [xvii. 441]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Among the many queries in your Magazine up to the beginning of the present volume, the one above indicated is, as far as I have been able to observe, the only one remaining unanswered.

I find, by consulting Catholic histories, that the first Catholic congregation on this continent was formed in Vinland as early as 1120, by Eric Upsi, who had been appointed Bishop of Vinland by Pope Paschal II., and was consecrated in Denmark, 1121, by Archbishop Adzer. The congregation was made up of Northmen who had immigrated to Vinland in consequence of the Norse discoveries. According to *Memoirs of the Royal Society of Antiquarians*, the ancient "tholus" (tower) in Newport, Rhode Island, belonged to a Scandinavian church or monastery, where, in alternation with Latin Masses, the old Danish tongue was heard seven hundred years ago. "What is here stated may be found in substance in even as small a work as the well-known and extensively-used *Sadlier's Excelsior Studies in the History of the United States*" (pp. 7 and 23).

As to the other part of the query, concerning the first Lutheran congregation or church in America, a very small congregation of Lutherans from Holland was formed at New Amsterdam (New York) in about 1623 (simultaneously

with the establishment of the Dutch Reformed of the same place). But the first more prominent Lutheran congregation was composed of Swedes, and established at Fort Christina (the present Wilmington), Delaware, where in 1638 they erected a church—the first Evangelical Lutheran church built on the American continent. Compare *S. Stall's Lutheran Yearbook and Historical Quarterly* for 1887, also the so-called *Halle Nachrichten*, Allentown, Pa., 1886.

H.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.

SHIPS AND TROOPS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION [xx. 249]—The British Armada—"Here was another great Armada, more numerous in ships and men than that which Philip of Spain had organized to subvert the liberties of England. And no providential storm rolled up to shatter this one like the other. The pleasant summer weather smiled upon its awful menace, as it lay securely at anchor in the great bend between Sandy Hook and Staten Island. There were thirty-seven men-of-war guarding 400 transports; 35,000 men in all, soldiers and sailors, the soldiers numbering 27,000." (*John W. Chadwick, in Harper's*, Vol. 53, 336.) It was the most perfect army of that day in the world, for experience, discipline, equipments and artillery; and was supported by more than four hundred ships and transports in the bay; by ten ships of the line and twenty frigates, besides bomb-ketches, galiots, and other small vessels. (*Bancroft*, Vol. 9, 85.) *Justin Windsor's Nar. and Crit. History* states that the soldiers numbered 31,625, and adds: "To defend the works scat-

tered over more than twenty miles, Washington had an army of only 17,225 men, of whom 6,711 were sick, on furlough, or detached, leaving but 10,514 present for duty. Most of these were militia, badly clothed, imperfectly armed, without discipline or military experience, and their artillery was old and of various patterns and calibres." The Armada had 129 vessels, 19,295 soldiers, and 8,460 sailors, besides slaves as rowers.

J. A. B.

BELOIT, WISCONSIN.

THE HUGUENOTS [xx. 249]—It is said that Bernard Palissy, who had been employed to ornament the gardens of the palace, was especially exempted by Catherine de Médicis from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24th. 1572. He was the leading exponent of the French ceramic art in the sixteenth century, and the first to rediscover the art of producing white enamel. He saw by chance an enameled cup, and neglecting all other duties experimented upon the art for sixteen years, and finally became so poverty-stricken that he burned his household furniture for fuel, and his wife and children were nearly starved; but he succeeded in the end, and became famous. Having become a Protestant he was imprisoned, but Charles IX. released him that he might become "potter to the king." Under royal protection he removed to Paris, and set up his works, called from his tile-king, "Tuileries," and when the palace was built there it retained the name. He was born in Agen, France, in 1510.

WALDEMAR

NEW YORK, September 10th.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

"What books shall we read?" is a question that comes to us with such startling frequency of late, particularly from young people just leaving the class-room, that we are impelled to investigate the subject for their benefit. Not, that there is any famine in reading material. The world was never so rich in books as at the present hour. But there is a choice in them as there is in the friends we gather about us. A man is known, says the proverb, by the company he keeps, and not only so but he is lifted upwards or dragged down by it. Too much time is spent with the rubbish of literature, and too little with the choice thoughts of choice spirits. Reading is the key that admits us to the whole world of thought and fancy and imagination; to the company of saint and sage, of the wisest and the wittiest at the wisest and wittiest moment. It enables us to see with the keenest eyes, hear with the finest ears, and listen to the sweetest voices of all time.

The variety of books is, however, so great, we are told, that the reader is in danger of falling into mean company, and becoming commonplace. One of our famous essayists says, "we are apt to wonder at the scholarship of the men of three centuries ago, and at a certain dignity of phrase that characterizes them. They were scholars because they did not read so many things as we. They had fewer books, but these were of the best. Their speech was noble, because they lunched with Plutarch and supped with Plato. We spend as much time over print as they did, but instead of unconsciously acquiring the grand manner of supreme society, we diligently cover the continent with a net work of speaking wires to inform us of such inspiring facts as that a horse belonging to Mr. Smith ran away on Wednesday, seriously damaging a valuable carryall; that a son of Mr. Brown swallowed a hickory nut on Thursday; and that a gravel bank caved in and buried Mr. Robinson alive on Friday. Alas, it is we ourselves that are getting buried alive under this avalanche of earthly impertinences! It is we who, while we might each in his humble way be helping our fellows into the right path, or adding one block to the climbing spire of a fine soul, are willing to become mere sponges saturated from the stagnant goose pond of village gossip."

To those who are in search of a course of reading our essayist says: "My advice would be that they should confine themselves to the supreme books in whatever literature, or, still better, to choose some one great author, and make themselves thoroughly familiar with him. For, as all roads lead to Rome, so do they likewise lead away from it, and you will find that in order to understand perfectly and weigh exactly any vital piece of literature, you will be gradually and pleasantly persuaded to excursions and explorations of which you little dreamed when you began, and will find yourselves scholars before you are aware. For, remember that there is nothing less profitable than scholarship for the mere sake of scholarship, nor anything more wearisome in the attainment. But the moment you have a definite aim, attention is quickened—the mother of

memory—and all that you acquire groups and arranges itself in an order that is lucid, because everywhere and always it is in intelligent relation to a central object of constant and growing interest. This method also forces upon us the necessity of thinking, which is, after all, the highest result of all education."

Select books that are informing, and so far as in your power equip yourselves with wide knowledge in all branches of history, literature and affairs. Are you deficient in any of these? Then seek the best authorities and bring yourself to the highest standard in that field without delay. Let your intellectual progress be marked with positive accumulations. When you read a book that is really worth the time you spend with it, do not cram your mind with others as a man in a hurry is apt to cram his gripsack, but do a little earnest and profitable thinking before you take up its successor in your reading course. The perusal of a book gives birth to ideas in no way connected with the subject of which it treats. All careful readers should however avoid dwelling too long upon one line of study or thought. Light and varied reading should be interspersed with the solid and useful. An extreme in either direction is to be avoided.

Human knowledge is an orderly and systematic whole. The development of the mind is a curious and mysterious process. What it needs is a favorable situation with plenty of light and air and healthful nourishment. Then it will grow in symmetry and strength and bear abundant fruit. But it can easily be starved on any one or two kinds of intellectual food, as one would be starved physically if obliged to subsist on sugar alone. Each side of knowledge is barren and imperfect without the other. The great tide of thoughts cannot be contained in narrow limits. Literature is properly the written record of man's thoughts; history the story of that thought as it has developed into action—the story of the rise and growth of human society. No course of literary or scientific reading will achieve much for the reader in the way of general culture without the reading of history, through which we learn to look upon human life as a whole, and to consider human thought and human actions in all their possible relations.

Speaking of the education of children, Rev. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst says: "If one-quarter of the time that is spent in learning minutiae about inaccessible regions and outlandish towns were employed judiciously, the child would have just as practical a knowledge of the world, and would have three-quarters of his time left to put to more profitable uses. The criticism to be passed on arithmetic is, that while it disciplines the pupil's mind, it is usually taught in such a way that it has to be all learned over again before it is available for practical uses. A boy will know how to 'do sums' in his book, but that is no sign that he could take the first step or make the first figure toward solving the same problem in a store or an office. The instruction he has received has lacked the coupling-pin that binds the school-room and practical life in one train."

BOOK NOTICES

THE FEDERALIST. A Commentary on THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. Being a collection of essays written in support of the Constitution agreed upon September 17, 1787, by THE FEDERAL CONVENTION. Reprinted from the original text of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison. Edited by Henry Cabot Lodge. 12mo, pp. 586. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1888.

This work in its present convenient form is timely and most welcome. The American public has had much information vouchsafed it about the "Federalist," but while the student could always pore over its paragraphs on the library table, the general reader has had few opportunities to make its acquaintance except by proxy. Here comes a well-edited volume that every man may possess and study at his leisure. Mr. Lodge in his introduction gives a synopsis of the controversies about its authorship; but he does not attempt to give a true answer that will be expected to satisfy everybody to this long-mooted question. He does, however, what is much better, he presents the evidence, including a little that is new, in a concise form, and states the case, with the arguments, so clearly that the merits of the question may be readily understood and easily appreciated. He also gives a bibliography of the "Federalist" which will be greatly prized by scholars. At the close of the volume the Articles of Confederation appear in full; also the Federal Constitution as agreed upon by the Convention, September 17, 1787, and the amendments to the Constitution which have since been adopted. The book is also provided with a good index.

MARTIN VAN BUREN. By EDWARD M. SHEPARD. 16mo, pp. 403. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Born more than a century ago, elected a senator of New York state in 1813, and a recognized party leader in 1825, Mr. Van Buren's career covers a period which must be regarded as among the most important of our national history. It closed while the country was engaged in suppressing the greatest and most nearly successful rebellion of modern times, and during his long and active life he had filled nearly all of the great offices within the reach of an American citizen. As legislator, senator, governor, minister, president, he had served the public, and acquired a reputation that assures him a permanent place in the roll of American statesmen. It is impossible that the

life of so ardent a partisan as Van Buren can be written without provoking criticism from his opponents. As a life-long Democrat he made numerous political enemies among the Whigs, but he was by no means a Democrat of the type that composed the Tweed ring or that hampered the machinery of the national government during its years of peril from civil war. Early identified with the Free Soil party he estranged many of his former associates, who could not reconcile such conduct with the known antecedents of the alleged founder of the Albany Regency, and the opprobrious epithet of turn-coat was freely applied.

Mr. Shepard has succeeded, no doubt *con amore*, in preparing a most interesting and instructive biography of this brilliant and erratic statesman. As a contribution to history it may be safely rated as among the best of the "American Statesman Series" which John T. Morse, Jr., has so judiciously supervised and edited.

FORMAN'S JOURNEY DOWN THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI, 1789-90. By MAJOR SAMUEL S. FORMAN. With a memoir and illustrative notes by LYMAN C. DRAPER, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 67. Robert Clark & Co. Cincinnati, 1888.

This narrative of a journey down the Ohio and Mississippi was not reduced to writing until sixty years after the trip was made, but with an unusually fine memory Major Forman was able to relate many curious particulars connected with it. Dr. Draper in the memoir describes the author and his boyhood life in New Jersey during the Revolution. Freneau, the well-known editor and poet, married Forman's sister about 1790. General David Forman having entered into a negotiation with the Spanish minister, Von Diego de Cardogne, for his brother, Ezekiel Forman, of Philadelphia, uncle of the Major, to emigrate with his family, and about sixty colored people, and settle in the Natchez country under Spanish authority, young Major Forman was induced to accompany them. His picturesque description of the journey down the Ohio in keel boats is very entertaining. They stopped at Marietta, and found acquaintances among the officers of the garrison there, and were tendered most acceptable hospitalities. The traveling party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Forman, their three daughters, Master David Forman, Miss Church, Captain Osmun, S. S. Forman, the narrator, and Mr. Schudder, eleven in all. The General and Mrs. Harmer invited them to a sumptuous dinner at Fort Harmer. Governor St. Clair and his family were then living at Campus Martius, and showed them distinguished attention. At the Great

Miami was Judge Symmes' settlement, with only a sergeant's command for its protection. Louisville is described, and we learn that it was the custom among the citizens when any persons of note arrived to have a ball in their honor. Managers were chosen, a subscription paper was circulated to meet the expenses, and every signer, except strangers, must provide his partner, and escort her to the ball and safe home again. The Formans were too important not to be treated to a ball, and the affair with its details are pictured with amusing particularity. The journey of the party down the Mississippi was less exciting than on the Ohio, but extremely interesting, and we learn much of Natchez at that period, "then a small place with houses generally of a mean structure." Mr. Forman had removed here for the purpose of cultivating tobacco, and soon had his negroes at work in the tobacco fields.

STUDIES IN CRITICISM. By FLORENCE TRAIL. 16mo, pp. 328. New York: Worthington Company.

Studies in Criticism is in effect a series of seven essays on miscellaneous topics embracing religion, morality, metaphysics, art, and literature. The author has evidently read extensively and pondered what she read with a woman's keen insight and high aspirations for all that is best in the humanities. Through the pages runs the inevitable question, does intellectual and artistic culture touch the conscience? The tendency of the book is in the direction of advanced thought, showing that Right is synonymous with Reason, and not merely an emotion that may be based upon superstition. Nihilism and anarchy she justly regards as mere excrescences—misconceptions of the sublimest doctrines that have ever been taught by Christians and philosophers.

CHARLES RIVER. A Poem. By THOMAS C. AMORY. 12mo, pp. 185. Cambridge, 1888. John Wilson & Son.

This clever little poetic work is in point of fact a series of descriptions of historic places and people in the vicinity of Charles River, Massachusetts, of more than ordinary interest, and will repay careful perusal. In Canto XI, entitled the "Homes of the Poets," there are many felicitous passages, of which the lines about the home of Lowell are perhaps the most notable. Mr. Amory writes of "Harvard College," and of the distinguished men who have from time to time gathered within its walls, from the standpoint of his own reminiscences. He writes with care, paying marked attention to names, dates, and facts of every variety. He finds in "Boston" one of his most difficult themes for the evolution of poesy. The history of Boston should always be written in severe

prose. Cambridge is more flexible, and the lines flow more smoothly where the poet describes a historic scene in a historic home:

"Beneath its roof one day in counsel met
Ward, Lee and Putnam, Thomas, Knox and
Gates,

Green, Sullivan, Spenser, in due order set—
In dire dismay, as commissary states
His make-believe of barrels filled with sand,
While all the powder he could rake and scrape
But forty charges for lines thinly manned,
From Mystic Waters round to Squantum Cape."

LOOKING BACKWARD. By EDWARD BELLAMY. 16mo, pp. 515. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

There is no question but that in this prophetic romance Mr. Bellamy has sounded a note that is destined to be heard farther and longer than usual in these days of multitudinous and ephemeral publications. It was at first published in a comparatively costly shape, but is now issued in the "Paper Series" at a moderate price, and is decidedly among the notable books of the year. We do not recommend it to any one who reads merely for amusement; while it is a novel, it is one far out of the ordinary. Readers who are accustomed to weep over the woes of fictitious lords and ladies will probably find it very tedious, though it contains more tear-provoking suggestions than all the novels of the year combined. Its history is somewhat remarkable, recalling that of *Ben Hur*. Published without anything farther than the usual announcement, and during a dull season, it apparently fell dead from the press. But in a few months orders began to increase, and it is now counted as one of the best selling books on the market.

In brief it is a look forward rather than backward. By an ingenious introductory passage the author causes himself to be translated to Boston in the year 2,000. It is a case of suspended animation, and his advent is as interesting to the citizens of that advanced period as it is to him, for not unnaturally they have found themselves utterly unable to extract a true notion of the nineteenth century from the flood of contradictory statements of contemporary publications. One of the most striking of the earlier passages is the figure by which Mr. Bellamy illustrates the present state of society. A few favored individuals are mounted upon a stage coach which is laboriously dragged over a rough road by all the rest of mankind. The passengers have but one thought—to keep their places. If one of them is jolted off he is compelled instantly to take his place on the drag rope, and to regain his lost seat is well nigh hopeless. The simile is worked up in very effective style, and no one can read it without being forcibly impressed by the terrible injustice of the situation. One cannot help asking, "Why do

not the many workers throw down the drag-rope, overturn the coach, and compel the passengers to take a hand in the world's work.

Of course the plan upon which society should be reorganized is more or less incomplete. In a single volume such a mighty problem can be treated only in a comparatively superficial way. Many of the most perplexing problems of the day are barely touched upon, but on the other hand suggestions are made which contain the germ at least of a satisfactory solution. Anarchy, the labor troubles, politics, finance and the rest are treated in a thoughtful and catholic spirit, which inevitably sets the reader to pondering many things that call for speedy adjustment in this perplexing age. We hope that the book will be widely read, and that it may have the influence that it deserves in stimulating intelligent effort toward a true universal brotherhood.

THE STUDY OF POLITICS. An Introductory Lecture. By WILLIAM P. ATKINSON. 16mo, pp. 63. Boston. Roberts Brothers.

Mr. Atkinson has within the last decade attained an enviable reputation as a thoughtful essayist on a wide range of topics embracing political economy, literature, history, social statistics. Among his most noteworthy productions are two which have already appeared in book form, namely, "Our History and the Study of History," and "On the Right Use of Books." These are uniform with the present little volume and form the advance file of what is almost certain to be a considerable army of similar works. The study of politics during a Presidential year is almost unavoidable, but if the study is to be intelligent it should not be partisan. That is to say, no one should accept all the statements of either side. Mr. Atkinson's position is eminently judicial. He admits that he was a "Mugwump" at the last election, and by that means, of course, renders himself obnoxious to all Republicans of the irreconcilable type. It is difficult to see, however, how any thoughtful and fair-minded person can read his essays without recognizing the lofty ideal by which he is actuated.

THE HISTORY OF TENNESSEE. The making of a State. By JAMES PHELAN. 12mo, pp. 478. Boston and New York, 1888: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The history of no state in the Union is more romantically interesting than that of Tennessee. The processes by which a wilderness was transformed into gardens, the various stages of development from primitive rudeness to civilization and refinement, from disorganization to organization, from the absence of all law to a time when a people nearly two millions strong

dwell together in peace and good order—are unfolded in the volume before us with consummate skill and good taste. The beginnings of Tennessee as a distinctive individuality date back to the year 1769, in the cabin of William Bean. The Indian warfare which had made Tennessee as dark and bloody a ground as Kentucky, seems to have exterminated nearly all the Indian race in the neighborhood of the Watauga. The tide of white population began to pour in, and many of the new-comers believed for a while that they were on Virginia soil. Reports carried back to the older settlements in the states on the Atlantic coast created an eager desire to travel to a land so beautiful, so fertile, so easily obtained. In this book we find an interesting description of the state of Franklin. When the convention met to form a constitution for it, John Sevier was elected president and F. A. Ramsey, the father of the historian was made secretary. A plan of government was drawn up and adopted, and ordered to be submitted to the action of a convention chosen by the people, which was to assemble in the latter part of the year at Greenville. The first governor was John Sevier. There were some very stirring scenes in connection with this young state, which was called Frankland. But that name sounded odd and strange, and finally the name of Franklin was given to it in honor of Dr. Franklin. The limits of this state, as outlined by Arthur Campbell, were to embrace, in general terms, the western counties of Virginia, a part of Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and the northern part of Mississippi. The plan fell through, however, and after many struggles the state of Franklin came to an end. One interesting chapter is devoted to the first settlements on the Cumberland; another to the "manners, customs, and mode of life" in the early period. The author says of the closing years of the century, "Compared with the actual dimensions of the state, the portions then inhabited were but tufts of civilization in a Sahara of wilderness and barbarous solitude. If one of the new-comers had been carried up so high as to have a bird's eye view of the settlements, he would have seen little to please the fancy beyond the wilderness of natural scenery. In the far west he would have seen on the banks of the Mississippi, where Memphis now stands, a small fort, filled with a few Spanish officers and soldiers, perhaps a drunken Indian in the door of a hut." While yet the struggles for life were full of serious vicissitudes, the people indulged in horse-racing, corn shuckings, and other frolics, and the women had their quiltings, all of which are graphically described. The last part of the volume is devoted to the rise of cities and institutions, and party politics. The work is well-written and is filled with welcome and valuable information.

EARLY DAYS OF MORMONISM, Palmyra, Kirtland and Nauvoo. By T. H. KENNEDY. 12mo, pp. 275. New York, 1888. Charles Scribner's Sons.

This volume has been carefully prepared; it is not the hurried work of a few weeks or months, but it is the result of the careful study of years, with unusual opportunities. The author goes over the ground which has been fairly well trodden before him, examining into the spiritual conditions prevailing in the western communities, with their superstitions and fantasies, and describes Joe Smith's early training. His mother claimed to be a dreamer of future events, and assured Joseph that he was the expected seer of the family. His Mormonism was a culmination of delusions and an evolution of small frauds. Many were looking about that time for the millennial year. Joe was a rank weed growing from very poor soil. He was of Scotch descent. His father was a counterfeiter, and escaped prison only by turning state's evidence. Later, in Palmyra, New York, the father worked by the day, or peddled gingerbread from a hand-cart. Next he was a squatter on a small farm in western New York, his family leading a half vagrant life. Joe was lazy, dull, loving whiskey, and a glib prevaricator, but not ill-natured. He was fond of revival meetings and of talking about complex or mysterious Bible texts. He joined the Methodist church at Palmyra on probation, but never took the final step. After the Smith family announced the existence of their "Golden Bible," sixty-two of their fellow-citizens of Palmyra, over their signatures, denounced the Smith family as lazy, intemperate and untruthful. Nevertheless the Smiths found dupes and confederates. Joe first flourished as a water-finding wizard; then claimed to be a discoverer of hidden riches. His father, by the way, had been a seeker after Captain Kidd's treasure. Joe unearthed what he called magic stones, and worked successfully on the cupidity of ignorant neighbors. His money-digging frauds lasted seven years, and must have been artfully managed. Experience taught him much about the credulity of men and the power of religious superstition and delusion. Presently he asserted that in visions he was admitted to the presence of Divinity. The manner in which the Mormon Bible was produced is described at length by the author. Smith did not write it. It was, in fact, originally an unpublished romance in Biblical language, from the pen of a man in Salem, Ohio, named Solomon Spaulding. Smith altered it ruthlessly to serve his purpose. Indeed, the whole origin of Mormonism was in gross deception, low superstition, religious frenzy and insane imaginings. In the course of time credulous cranks began to come in, and on the strength of their support Smith turned his attention more to religion and

less to buried treasure. He was reinforced by his confederate, Sidney Rigdon, a preacher who dropped orthodoxy to spread Mormonism. He was a ranting, fluent revivalist, and an ambitious enthusiast. His oratory was considered "magnetic." It is certain that he aided Smith in getting out the Mormon Bible. He was in a state of singular excitement several weeks before its appearance. When it was made public he received it with apparent amazement. Then, with due regard to advertising himself, he accepted the "new revelation" and began to preach it.

This is a strange chapter in human history, and in its effects one of the most pitiable extant. Joe Smith was a cunning vagabond, with remarkable insight into the weaknesses of impressionable people. He not only invented Mormonism, but he succeeded in keeping it alive and in making new dupes out of the ignorant and weak-minded. He was not strong in business administration. That was Brigham Young's gift. The Salt Lake episode in many respects stands apart from previous Mormon undertakings, and the author is right in closing his book at the migration which placed thousands of miles between its new abode and the borders of civilization.

THE PIONEER PRESS OF KENTUCKY.

By WILLIAM HENRY PERRIN. [Filson Club Publications.] Square 8vo, pp. 93. Pamphlet. John P. Morton & Co. 1888. Louisville, Ky.

The first hundred years from the establishing of the printing press and the issue of a newspaper in Kentucky, closed on the eleventh day of August, 1887. By request of the Filson Club of Louisville, this monograph was prepared and read at one of its meetings. It is a very concise and admirably written historic sketch of the rise of the newspaper press in Kentucky when the state was new, and its modern development and vicissitudes, and is a most valuable contribution to the history of the country. The office of the first newspaper, says Mr. Perrin, "was not a stone front building, but a rude log cabin, one story high, and covered with clapboards. Bradford printed his paper on an old-fashioned hand-press, which he had purchased in Philadelphia second-hand, and which, when pushed to its full capacity, might probably turn off from fifty to seventy-five sheets per hour. His 'editor's easy chair' was a three-legged stool of his own manufacture, and his editorial table corresponded in style with the chair. When he wrote at night it was by the flickering, sputtering light of a buffalo-tallow candle, or a greasy lamp fed by bears' oil, or perhaps by firelight. Many of his advertisements were as quaint as his office and its equipments. Among them may be noted those of 'spinning-wheels, knee-buckles,

gun flints, buckskin for breeches, hair powder, saddle-bags locks,' and other articles now obsolete. A notice appeared in one of the early issues, 'that persons who subscribed to the frame meeting-house, can pay in *cattle* or *whiskey*'—an evidence that two of the chief products of the famous blue grass region were even then legal tender."

SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. From the discovery of America by Columbus to the present time. By HENRY E. CHAMBERS. [Practical Educational Series.] 16mo, square, pp. 245. New Orleans: F. F. Hansell & Brothers. 1888.

This volume has been prepared distinctively with the object of imparting to the child-mind a knowledge of the principal events of our country's history, and at the same time to fix firmly, ideas of the consecutiveness and relative time of these events. It has much to commend it, such as review outlines, blackboard forms, and other devices to aid in the success of the teacher's work. It seems to be a vast improvement on the various histories for children in common use in the schools, and deserves careful examination from those who are responsible for the education of our little ones. The language is simple, the sentences short, and the questions are well chosen. We do not think the pictures, however, add to its value, but quite the reverse. Some of them are seriously misleading. We trust the time will come speedily when the omission of pictures from all school-books will be strictly and conscientiously observed by authors and publishers.

THE RECOLLECTIONS OF A DRUMMER BOY. By HARRY M. KIEFFER. Sixth edition. Revised and enlarged. Illustrated 12mo, square, pp. 250. Boston: 1889. Ticknor & Co.

This delightfully readable volume for boys embraces a series of papers written some years ago for the *St. Nicholas Magazine*, and are chiefly the personal recollections of three years of army life in active service in the field, during

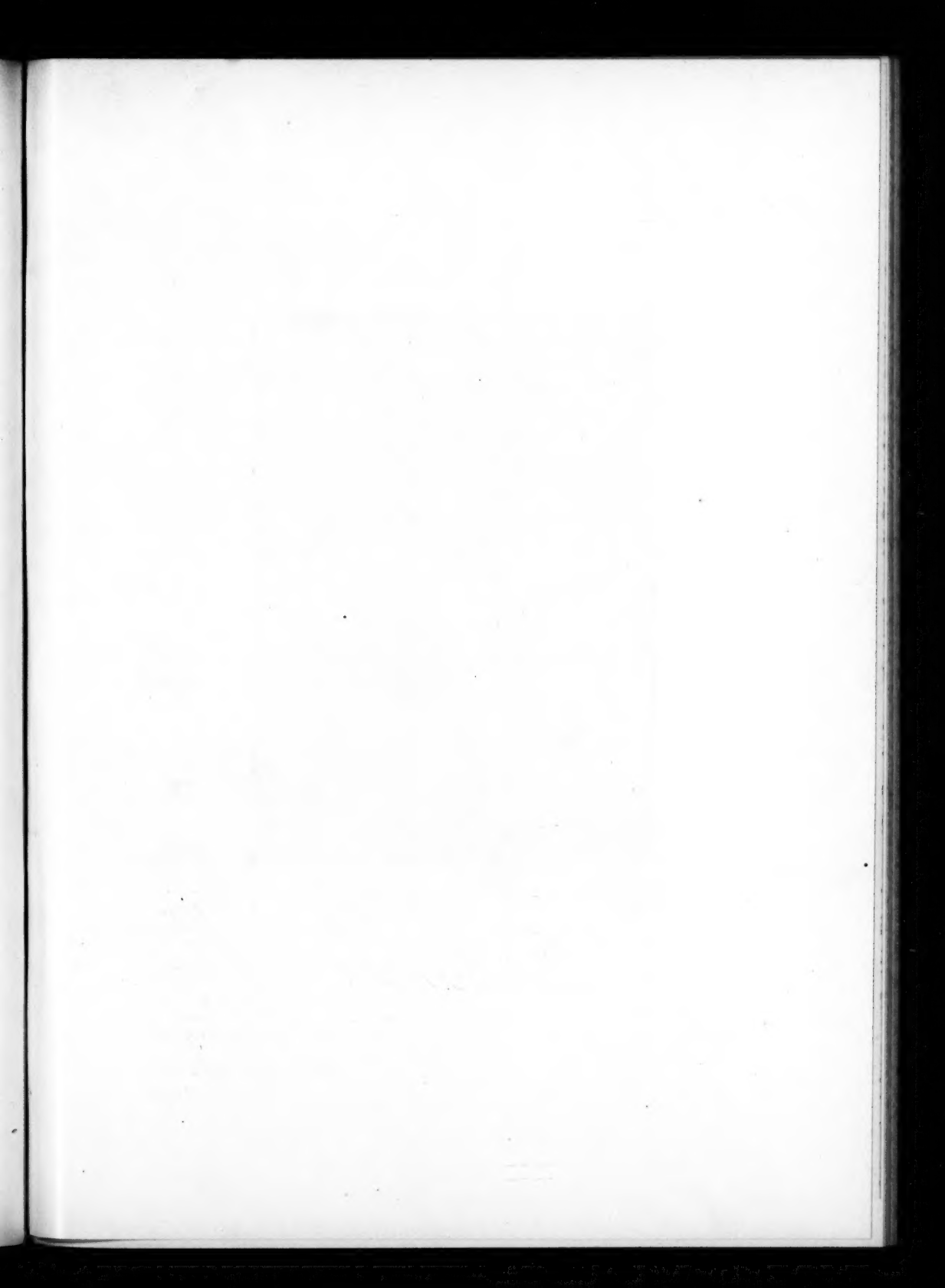
our late civil war. Andy was a studious boy, but he could not remain at school; he fell to day-dreaming and wool-gathering over his books, and finally closed them and enlisted. The story is one of great interest, and decidedly profitable to children, particularly to those of soldiers.

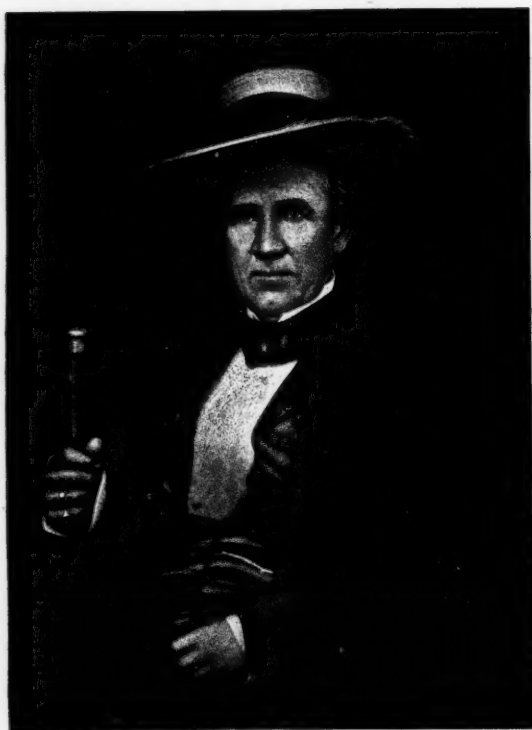
TREES AND TREE-PLANTING. By GENERAL JAMES S. BRISBIN, U. S. A. 12mo, pp. 258. New York: 1888. Harper & Bros.

"From my earliest youth," writes the author of this volume, "my voice has been raised against the destruction of the forests of America, but, lost amid the whirl of saws and the resounding stroke of axes, it was too weak to be heard, until now, the day of reckoning having come, we must dispassionately consider the evil done, and take measures to remedy it in the future. While the forests of America lasted, people could not and would not believe the day would ever come when they would have need of them. But now they look with dismay on the ruin which their own hands have wrought. To destroy the forests of America has been a brief work; to replant and reproduce them will be the labor of forty generations, but it can be done."

This book is an eloquent and timely treatise on a subject of vital consequence to us all. It should be read by every American citizen. "Unless there can be excited a national interest in this subject, and preventive measures are set on foot, the vast interior of the United States must part with a great portion of its magnificent agricultural, manufacturing and commercial prosperity."

"The Famous Trees of the World" forms the sixth chapter of the work, and it is most interesting. The "Warmth of Trees in Winter and Coolness in Summer," is admirably set forth in the tenth chapter; followed by "The Blood of Trees," "Shelter-Belts," and "Kinds of Trees to Plant," in subsequent essays. Every chapter, indeed, every page of the volume is instructive and valuable. The author tells us what trees to plant and how to plant them, and in respect to fruit-trees shows in clear, terse language what will be most conducive to their productiveness. His well-expressed arguments are convincing that what comes from tree-planting in America is profit, honor, health, and wealth.





Sam Houston

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XX

NOVEMBER, 1888

No. 5

THE CITY OF A PRINCE*

A ROMANTIC CHAPTER IN TEXAS HISTORY

PART II

THE area in which Fredricksburg stands was then a dense forest, and until a few years since the stumps of trees which were felled when it was laid out could be seen in the streets. Oaks which did not interfere with traffic were left, and are still there, forming shade trees of great beauty and value. In pursuance of the policy of justice which Von Meusebach had marked out for himself, he purchased all unsurveyed lands that could be had in the vicinity of the new colony, and turned them over to the immigrants as the portion which had been promised them. But these lands had to be paid for over again by the colonists, for they were all claimed by an American under an old Spanish grant. The settlers shrank from a lawsuit, so offered a compromise, which was accepted, thus it is that the ground is said to have been twice purchased.

When Fredricksburg was settled, there dwelt upon the Perdinales a colony of Mormons. Surrounded by Indians, they lived in peace with the several tribes. They had a strong stone fort, and their settlement presented a beautiful picture of thrift, neatness and fertility. Every section had a frontage on the river, and a fine, broad road, well shaded, stretched along the river bank. The farms were irrigated and divided from one another by stone fences; so perfect were they with their neat stables, barns and dwellings, that they seemed like a piece of rural Europe dropped down into these wild surroundings. This community joined the immigration society so as to come in for a share of the land, which was being divided. They received their portion, but after the colony began to grow and Fredricksburg attained size and importance, they disposed of their lands advantageously and moved away from that country.

Greater difficulties than the settlement and apportionment of Fredricksburg now presented themselves to Von Meusebach. The society in Europe was sending ship after ship loaded with emigrants, but no money

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